

THE  
NATIONAL  
QUARTERLY REVIEW.

EDITED BY

EDWARD I. SEARS, LL.D.

*Palohram est bene facere reipublice, etiam bene dicere haud absurdum est.*

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EDWARD I. SEARS, EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR,  
658 BROADWAY.

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NEW YORK: AMERICAN NEWS CO., 121 NASSAU STREET. PHILADELPHIA: JAMES  
K. SIMON, SOUTH SIXTH STREET. LONDON: TRUBNER & CO.,  
60 PATERNOSTER ROW. PARIS: VICTOR  
ALEXI, 19 RUE DU MAIL.

1870.

**LORD & TAYLOR,**  
IMPORTERS & DEALERS IN  
***Fashionable Dry Goods,***

Have Removed the Broadway Retail Branch of their business  
from the corner of Grand St., to their NEW BUILDING,



**Nos. 895, 897, 899 & 901 BROADWAY,**  
Corner 20th Street.

 The Store corner Grand and Chrystie Streets will be continued as usual. 



# MANHATTAN COLLEGE,

(CHRISTIAN BROTHERS.)

NEW YORK CITY.

This Institution, incorporated and empowered to confer Degrees by the Regents of the University of the State of New York, offers many advantages to further the moral, intellectual, and physical development of students. The situation of the College is not surpassed in landscape beauty, or salubrity, by that of any similar institution in the country. It occupies an elevated position on the east bank of the Hudson, about eight miles from the City Hall.

## TERMS.

Board, Washing, and Tuition, per Session of ten months, .....	\$300
Entrance Fee,.....	10
Graduation Fee,.....	10
Vacation at College,.....	40

German, Spanish, Drawing, Music, and use of apparatus in the study of Chemistry and Natural Philosophy, charged extra. School books at current prices.

No student received for a shorter period than one term of five months. No deductions made when withdrawn during the term. The pocket-money of the student is deposited with the treasurer.

### Payment of half session of five months in advance.

The sessions commence on the first Monday in September, and end about the 3d of July.

A public examination of the students is held at the end of the session, and gentlemen are invited to examine them then, and also during the class hours of term time.

FOR PARTICULARS SEE CATALOGUE.

PHYSICIAN'S FEE, - - - - - \$10

# KNICKERBOCKER Life Insurance Company

OF THE  
CITY OF NEW YORK.

**Principal Office, 161 Broadway.**

ERASTUS LYMAN,      GEORGE F. SNIFFEN,  
PRESIDENT.                      SECRETARY.

Assets January 1st, 1870, - . - - \$6,680,966  
Income in 1869, - - - - - 5,041,924

Dividends paid in 1869, - - - - - \$513,410

Total Policies in force, - - - - - 22,078  
Total Amount Insured, - - - - - \$68,569,267

Amount paid to Widows and Orphans  
of deceased members in 1869, - - - - \$813,280

EVERY DESIRABLE FORM OF POLICY

Issued from \$1,000 to \$25,000 on a single life.

## BRANCH OFFICES.

CHICAGO—CHICAGO, ILL. For States of Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Iowa, Wisconsin, Minnesota and Ohio. S. A. MATTISON, MANAGER.  
SOUTH-EASTERN—BALTIMORE, MD. For States of Maryland, Delaware, Virginia, West Virginia District of Columbia. JOHN A. NICHOLS, MANAGER.  
SOUTHERN—SAVANNAH, GA. For States of Georgia, the Carolinas, Florida, and Alabama. F. W. SIMS, MANAGER.  
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MISSISSIPPI VALLEY—MEMPHIS, TENN. For States of Kentucky, Arkansas, Tennessee, and Northern Mississippi. S. R. CLARKE & CO., MANAGERS.  
HOME DISTRICT—161 BROADWAY, N. Y. For States of New-York, New Jersey, and Connecticut. H. LASSING, MANAGER.

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UNIVERSITY  
OF THE  
**CITY OF NEW YORK.**

---

The usual exercises will be resumed as follows, namely :

**In the Preparatory or Grammar School Department,**

**On the 13th of September.**

**In the Department of Science and Letters,**  
**September 15th.**

**In the Department of Art,**  
**September 20th.**

**In the Department of Civil Engineering,**  
**September 20th.**

**In the Department of Law,**  
**October 4th.**

**In the Department of Analytical and Practical Chemistry,**  
**October 13th.**

**In the Department of Medicine,**  
**October 18th.**

**ISAAC FERRIS, Chancellor.**

*University, Washington Square, Aug., 1869.*

---

Examinations for admission to the Department of Science and Letters will take place on **TUESDAY**, the 14th of September, at 9½ A. M., in the Council Room.

# SECURITY LIFE INSURANCE AND ANNUITY COMPANY,

Nos. 31 and 33 Pine Street, New York.

## OFFICERS.

**ROBERT L. CASE, Pres.**      **THEO. R. WETMORE, Vice-Pres.**  
**ISAAC H. ALLEN, Secretary.**

## DIRECTORS.

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DAVID MOORE,  
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No Restriction on Travel except in the Tropics.

Policies Incontestable after Three years Annual payments, except in case of Fraud.

This Company offers as great inducements to those PAYING THEIR PREMIUMS ALL IN CASH as any in the country, at the same time giving them the privilege of availing themselves of the LOAN, should the necessity arise.

All Policies are Non-Forfeiting after Three Yearly Cash Payments have been made.

The Progress of this Company is shown by the Table Annexed.

New Policies.	No. of Policies issued each year.	Gross Receipts.	Amount Insured by New Policies.	Total Gross Assets.
Year 1862..	211	23,423	489,000	122,857
" 1863..	888	80,530	1,392,550	160,002
" 1864..	1,403	149,411	2,819,743	249,831
" 1865..	2,134	323,827	4,841,280	425,027
" 1866..	3,325	603,651	7,526,509	753,398
" 1867..	4,094	860,000	9,070,805	1,286,300
" 1868..	4,386	1,035,242	11,564,389	1,854,570
" 1869..	6,358	1,428,164	17,062,590	2,377,652

For General or District Agencies apply to the offices of the Company,  
Nos. 31 and 33 Pine Street, New York.

**Liberal Commissions to experienced Agents.**

THE  
**Undercliff**  
 BOARDING AND DAY SCHOOL  
 FOR  
 YOUNG LADIES,

CONDUCTED BY

MRS. MORRIS AND MISS PICKERSGILL,

Cold Spring, opposite West Point,

The residence of General Morris, surrounded by an extensive and beautifully shaded Park, and offering, by its proximity to New York, the advantages of city and country.

The course of Instruction is liberal: French spoken habitually in the family. Languages, Music, Drawing, and Painting pursued, under accomplished Professors. Lectures on various subjects delivered, with suitable diagrams. Constant attention to deportment and physical health.

**TERMS.**

FOR BOARDING PUPILS		FOR DAY SCHOLARS	
	<i>Per Annum.</i>		<i>Per Annum.</i>
Board and Tuition in English, French, and Latin.....	\$400	Tuition in English, French, and Latin, first Department.....	\$125
Music and Singing, per quarter.....	20 to 40	Second Department.....	100
Fuel, per session.....	4	Third do. ....	75
		Primary do. ....	50

Use of Piano, \$5 per quarter; Seat in Church, \$6 per annum; Washing, per dozen, \$1. No deduction made for absence. Each young lady requires sheets, pillow-cases, towels, and table napkins. All clothing must be marked in full.

Pupils received at any time, and charged from the day of entry.

The school year consists of two equal sessions of twenty weeks each, commencing in September and terminating June 30. Payments to be made quarterly in advance.

**REFERENCES.**

REV. JOEL PARKER, S. T. D.  
 JUNIOR COWLEY, New York.  
 REV. J. HILEY, New York.  
 W. P. VAN RENSWELAER, Esq., Portchester.  
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 GENERAL G. K. WARREN, U. S. A.  
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 HON. WILLIAM F. HAVENMETER, New York.  
 HON. JOHN COTTON SMITH, Sharon County, Conn.  
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 REV. C. W. MORRILL, Rector of St. Alban's Church, N. Y.  
 HON. ELIJAH WARD, New York.  
 GENERAL W. H. MORRIS, New York.  
 EDITORS OF THE HOME JOURNAL.



# PHŒNIX MUTUAL Life Insurance Company, HARTFORD, CONN.

ASSETS, securely invested, . . . \$5,081,978 50  
SURPLUS, free of all liabilities, . . . 1,868,904 50

Ratio of Assets to Liabilities larger than that of any other Company of equal age, being  
158 OF ASSETS TO EVERY 100 OF LIABILITIES.

DIVIDENDS paid to Policy-holders . . . \$322,466 18  
INCOME in 1869 . . . 2,432,979 00

Since the commencement of its business the Company has issued Policies upon more  
than

**43,000 LIVES,**

and it has paid in *LOSSES* nearly

**ONE AND A QUARTER MILLION DOLLARS**

to the families of those who have deceased while members of the Company.

The progress of the Company, for the last five years, has been as follows:

ASSETS AT END OF YEAR.		SURPLUS AT END OF YEAR.	
1865 . . . . .	\$903,284 71	1865 . . . . .	\$481,541 47
1866 . . . . .	1,457,314 95	1866 . . . . .	585,917 51
1867 . . . . .	2,218,344 29	1867 . . . . .	819,315 23
1868 . . . . .	3,664,060 18	1868 . . . . .	1,382,109 68
1869 . . . . .	5,081,973 50	1869 . . . . .	1,868,904 50

Within the past five years the Assets of the Company have increased more than FOUR AND A HALF MILLION DOLLARS, notwithstanding over HALF A MILLION DOLLARS have been returned to Policy-holders in Dividends, and over THREE QUARTERS OF A MILLION DOLLARS paid for Losses by death during that period.

As evidence of the special care taken by the Company in the selection of risks, it may be mentioned, that its ratio of Losses paid to amount at risk is smaller than that of any other Company of equal age.

## TABLE of COMPARISONS of the BUSINESS of the YEARS 1867, 1868, and 1869.

Number of Policies issued in 1867 . . . . .	5,811
" " " " 1868 . . . . .	8,229
" " " " 1869 . . . . .	8,623
Increase of 1868 over 1867—42 per cent.	
" " " " 1869 over 1867—48 " "	

—:O:—

Income in 1867 . . . . .	\$2,179,044 28
" " " " 1868 . . . . .	1,930,833 54
" " " " 1869 . . . . .	1,432,179 00
Increase of 1868 over 1867— 64 per cent.	
" " " " 1869 over 1867—106 " "	

**E. FESSENDEN,**

**J. F. BURNS, Secretary.**

**President.**

**MR. VAN NORMAN'S**  
**ENGLISH AND FRENCH**  
**Family and Day School**  
**FOR YOUNG LADIES,**  
**10 East Forty-sixth Street, New York.**

—:O:—

The School Year extends from the fourth Thursday in September to the third Wednesday in June. The best facilities are afforded for the acquisition of the Modern Languages and Music. The French Language is spoken in the family. Reference is made to the following gentlemen, whose daughters have been educated in the School:

<b>MR. JOHN F. BUTTERWORTH, New York.</b>	<b>REV. CHARLES F. DEEMS D. D., New York.</b>
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<b>MR. EFFINGHAM COCK, do.</b>	<b>REV. EDWIN F. HATFIELD, D.D., do.</b>
<b>CAPT. JOSEPH J. COMSTOCK, do.</b>	<b>HON. HENRY J. RAYMOND, do.</b>
<b>MR. JOHN B. DICKINSON, do.</b>	<b>REV. ABEL STEVENS, LL.D., do.</b>
<b>REV. CYRUS D. FOSS, do.</b>	<b>MR. JAMES BEATTY, do.</b>
<b>REV. R. S. FOSTER, D. D., do.</b>	<b>REV. JOHN M. STEVENSON, D.D., do.</b>
<b>REV. GEORGE S. HARE, D. D. do.</b>	<b>JUDGE SIDNEY HUBBELL, Davenport, Iowa.</b>
<b>MR. CHARLES G. HARMEL, do.</b>	<b>MR. AARON HEALY, Brooklyn, N. Y.</b>
<b>MR. CHARLES G. JUDSON, do.</b>	<b>COL. A. D. HOPE, Somerville, N. J.</b>
<b>MR. WILLIAM LEONEV, do.</b>	<b>GEO. P. NELSON, Esq., Scarsdale, N. Y.</b>
<b>EDWARD VANDERPOEL, M. D., do.</b>	<b>CHARLES H. QUINLAN, M.D. Lake Forest, Ill.</b>
<b>MR. ABRAHAM H. CARDOZA, do.</b>	<b>MR. E. V. ROBBINS, Chicago.</b>
<b>PROF. HARVEY B. LANE, do.</b>	<b>MR. AUGUSTUS F. SCOFIELD, Walden, N. Y.</b>
<b>MR. THEODORE McNAMEE, do.</b>	<b>MR. EDWARD F. STEWART, Easton, Pa.</b>
<b>MR. SAMUEL PERRY, do.</b>	<b>MR. OSCAR F. AVERY, Chicago.</b>
<b>ALFRED S. PURDY, M. D. do.</b>	<b>HON. JAMES BISHOP, New Brunswick, N.J.</b>
<b>COL. C. SCHWARZWALDER, do.</b>	<b>MR. THOMAS W. CHACE, Providence, R. I.</b>
<b>MR. BENJAMIN J. BRADLEY, Lyons, N. Y.</b>	<b>MR. ORINGTON LUNT, Chicago.</b>
<b>MR. LEVI H. BRIGHAM, Brooklyn, N. Y.</b>	<b>REV. JOHN MCCLINTOCK, D. D., LL. D., Madison, N. J.</b>
<b>WILLIAM BURKITT, M. D., Keokuk, Iowa.</b>	<b>MR. HENRY MILLER, Sacramento, Cal.</b>
<b>REV. F. R. CLARK, D. D., Greenwich, Conn.</b>	<b>REV. JOHN F. MESSICK, D. D., Summerville, N. J.</b>
<b>REV. B. W. DWIGHT, LL. D., Clinton, N. Y.</b>	<b>REV. JOEL PARKER, D. D., Newark, N. J.</b>
<b>MR. H. H. HATHORN, Saratoga Sp'gs, N. Y.</b>	<b>REV. ASA D. SMITH, D. D., Pres. of Dartmouth Col.</b>
<b>MR. C. C. NORTH, Sing-sing, N. Y.</b>	<b>REV. BISHOP THOMPSON, D.D., Chicago.</b>
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<b>REV. WM. G. T. SHEDD, D. D., New York.</b>	
<b>REV. J. RALSTON SMITH, D. D., New York.</b>	
<b>REV. JOHN GRAEF BARTON, Professor in College of New York.</b>	
<b>GEN. CLINTON B. FISK, St. Louis, Mo.</b>	

For full information, see Circular, for which address as above.

**Rev. D. C. Van Norman, LL.D.,**

**Principal.**

**NEW ENGLAND  
MUTUAL LIFE INSURANCE CO.  
OF BOSTON.**

Branch Office, 110 Broadway, New York.

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SEWELL TAPPAN,  
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JAMES S. AMORY,  
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GEORGE H. FOLGER,

HOMER BARTLETT,  
DWIGHT FOSTER,  
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W. W. TUCKER,  
BENJ. F. STEVENS.

**BENJAMIN F. STEVENS,**

President.

**JOSEPH M. GIBBENS,**

Secretary.

Accumulation - - - - \$8,000,000  
Distribution of Surplus in 26 yrs. \$4,000,000  
**Losses paid in 26 years, \$1,200,000.**

Policies of all descriptions are issued by this Company.

Distributions of Surplus are to be made annually, and payable as  
the premiums fall due.

Printed documents pertaining to the subject, together with the report  
of the Company for the past year, and tables of premiums, supplied  
gratis, or forwarded free of expense, by addressing,

**SAMUEL S. STEVENS,**

AGENT AND ATTORNEY FOR THE COMPANY,

**No. 110 BROADWAY,**

Cor. Pine Street,

**NEW YORK.**

# COLLEGE

OF THE

## Christian Brothers,

ST. LOUIS, MO., 1868.

This Literary Institution possesses all the advantages of an agreeable and healthy location, easy of access, being situated on a rising ground a little south-west of the Pacific Railroad terminus in the city of St. Louis, Missouri. It was founded in 1851 by the Brothers of the Christian Schools, incorporated in 1855 by the State Legislature, and empowered to confer degrees and academical honors. However favorable the auspices under which it commenced its literary career, its progress since has surpassed all anticipation. Growing equally in public confidence and in the number of students, it has gone on extending its reputation. Repeated additions have been made to the original buildings. The number of students received within the last year amounted to more than 600, and many applicants were refused admission for want of room.

Every possible attention is paid to whatever can contribute to the health and happiness of its inmates—ventilation, cleanliness, spacious halls, dormitories, refectory, recreation halls for cold or damp weather, etc., etc.

The various arts and sciences usually taught in colleges find here an appropriate place in a system of education established by experience, conducted on the most approved plan, and with a devotedness commensurate with the greatness of the work engaged in. By reason of the great number of classes, a thorough graduation for all capacities and acquirements has been attained, and the frequent examinations and promotions beget emulation, the soul of advancement, making labor a pleasure and success certainty.

The course of instruction pursued in the Academy is divided into three departments: the primary, the intermediate, and the collegiate. There is, besides, an exclusively commercial course, offering rare advantages to young gentlemen who intend to make business their profession. It is divided into three classes, in which the chief place is given to instruction in Book-keeping, Arithmetic, Geography and History, Business Forms and Correspondence, Epistolary Composition, Penmanship, etc., with Lectures on Commercial Law, Political Economy, etc. Diplomas can be obtained in the Commercial Department by such as merit that distinction.

The session commences on the last Monday in August and ends about the 3d of July, with an annual public examination and distribution of premiums, and the conferring of degrees and academical honors.

On the completion of the course the degree of A. B. is conferred upon such students as, on examination, are found worthy of that distinction. The degree of A. M. can be obtained by graduates of the first degree after two years devoted to some scientific or literary pursuit, their moral character remaining unexceptionable.

The government is a union of mildness and firmness, energy and kindness, a blending of paternal solicitude with fraternal sympathy; the results of which are contentment, good order, and happiness. The morals and general deportment of the students are constantly watched over; Brothers preside at their recreations, and their comfort and personal habits receive every attention.

### TERMS.

Entrance Fee.....	\$5 00
Board and Tuition, per session .....	250 00
Washing.....	20 00
Physician's Fee.....	8 00
For Half-Boarders.....	100 00
For Day Scholars.....	60 00
In the Senior Class.....	40 00
Vacation at the Institution.....	40 00

Music, drawing, and the use of apparatus in the study of Chemistry and Natural Philosophy form extra charges.

N.B.—Payments semi-annually and invariably in advance.

No deduction for absence, except in case of protracted illness or dismissal.

•• No extra charges for the study of the German, French, and Spanish languages.

THE  
MANHATTAN  
Life Insurance Company  
OF NEW-YORK,  
Nos. 156 AND 158 BROADWAY.

*No experiment, but an Established Institution.*

ORGANIZED A. D. 1850.

A business of nineteen years, characterized by prudence and economy, and the utmost care in the selection of Risks, has placed the MANHATTAN in a condition inferior to that of no other Company, and superior to the majority. The true standard by which to judge a company's strength is not the *Amount of its Assets* but the *Ratio of its Assets to its Liabilities*.

We refer with pride and confidence to the following figures of the MANHATTAN, as shown by official statements to the Insurance Departments of New York and Massachusetts:

Assets January 1, 1870, .....	\$6,338,341 00
Surplus over Liabilities.....	1,644,310 00
Ratio.....	\$140 70 Assets for every \$100 Liabilities.
Ratio of Expenses to Receipts.....	\$13 28

The interest received from its investments more than pays its expenses of management.

GEORGE A. FRENCH, Manchester, N. H., General Agent for New Hampshire.  
EVERETT & PIERCE, Boston, Massachusetts, General Agents for Eastern Massachusetts.  
O. L. SHILDON, Rochester, N. Y., General Agent for Northern New York.  
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**HENRY STOKES, President.**

**C. Y. WEMPLE, V. Pres.**

**J. L. HALSEY, Secretary.**



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**M<sup>LL</sup>E. ROSTAN'S**  
**French and English Protestant School,**  
**FOR YOUNG LADIES,**  
***No. 111 East Thirty-Sixth Street,***  
**WILL REOPEN ON**  
**TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 21st.**

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The course of instruction is extensive and systematic, and designed  
to combine a

**Thorough English Education**

WITH THE

Practical knowledge of the French and other Modern Languages.

---

SPECIAL ATTENTION IS ALSO GIVEN TO

**DRAWING AND PAINTING;**

AND THE

**MUSICAL DEPARTMENT,**

under the care of

**PROFESSORS S. B. MILLS AND F. L. RITTER,**

Offers peculiar advantages to those who wish to make music a special study.

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Lectures on the NATURAL SCIENCES, HISTORY, &c., are delivered weekly  
by eminent Professors.

---

A limited number of young ladies will be received in the family, and  
welcomed to share in all the comforts and privileges of a pleasant home.

THE  
**MUTUAL BENEFIT**  
 Life Insurance Company,  
**NEWARK, N. J.**

Organized in 1845.

**Losses paid on lives of deceased Members.....\$ 8,264,615**  
**Dividends of return Premiums declared.....11,189,389**  
**Assets subject to all Liabilities, Jan. 1, 1870.....19,345,640**  
**No. of Members, 40,000; Amount Insured.....130,000,000**

The usual Dividend paid in 1870, and Two ordered paid in 1871.

The above Statement is presented by the Directors, as the result of twenty-five years' business.

Conducted with prudence, nothing has been lost on investments.

Managed with economy, the expenses have always been small,—the Dividends always large,—declared annually, and paid when due.

Neither Directors or Officers are allowed commissions on business or loans, and none have acquired wealth in the Company's service.

Intending hereafter, as heretofore, to act as faithful Trustees for the members, the Directors offer the benefits of this Mutual Life Association to all of sound health who desire to insure their lives, on the most favorable terms.

Reports, Tables, and other information on the subject, furnished gratis at the office of the Company, or any of its Agencies.

**DIRECTORS:**

LEWIS C. GROVER,  
 A. S. SNELLING,  
 JOHN R. WEEKS,  
 JOSEPH A. HALEY,

HENRY McFARLAND,  
 RANDALL H. GREENE,  
 NEHEMIAH PERRY,  
 H. N. CONGAR,

CHARLES S. MACKNET  
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 JOSIAH O. LOW,  
 OSCAR L. BALDWIN.

**LEWIS C. GROVER, President.**

EDWARD A. STRONG, Secretary.

H. N. CONGAR, Vice-President.

BENJAMIN C. MILLER, Treasurer.

AMIZA DODD, Mathematician.

SAMUEL H. LLOYD, State Agent,

Eastern District of New York,

**173 Broadway, New York.**

# St. Mary's Academy.

CHARTERED 1855.

ST. MARY'S ACADEMY is situated on the St. Joseph River, eighty miles east of Chicago, and two miles from South Bend, a flourishing town on the Michigan Southern Railroad.

The grounds are very extensive, beautifully adorned, and situated in that charming seclusion which is so favorable to the healthful development of moral, physical, and intellectual power.

The buildings are spacious and commodious, suited to the educational requirements of the day, and furnished with all modern improvements. Every portion of the building is heated by steam, and hot and cold baths are attached to the sleeping apartments.

The routine of instruction combines the solidity of scientific and literary pursuits with those lighter and more graceful accomplishments which cast a charm over domestic life, and contribute so essentially to elevate the tone of society at large.

Particular attention is paid to the religious instruction of Catholic pupils. Pupils of all denominations are received, and for the sake of order they are merely required to attend the public religious exercises with the members of the Institution.

The Scientific Departments receive most careful attention. Scientific and literary lectures are given through the year by skillful professors from the University of Notre Dame.

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- ART. I.—1. *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (Chronicon Saxon-  
icum.)
2. *De Gestisregum Anglorum* (Exploits of the Saxon Kings).  
WILLIAM of Malmesbury, Oxford.
3. *Ceben Alfreds des Crosson* (Life of Alfred the Great).  
STELBORG. Leipsic.
4. *Biographia Britannica Literaria* ; or, *Biography of Literary  
Characters of Great Britain and Ireland, etc. Anglo-  
Saxon Period.* THOMAS WRIGHT.
5. *Annals of the Reign of Alfred the Great from A.D. 849 to  
887.* By ASSER, of St. David's, London.
6. *Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth. Anglo-  
Saxon Period.* PULGRAVE.

IT is remarkable that the best accounts we have of King Alfred have emanated from Germans. Many Englishmen have written the history of the illustrious Anglo-Saxon monarch, but they have not succeeded so well as their Teutonic rivals in presenting to the world the portraiture of the man as he was. Valuable as is his life written by his intimate friend Asser, bishop of Sherborne, that work is meagre and dry in its style. It was not to be expected that a man imperfectly

educated as Asser was, and writing in a foreign language, should produce a history distinguished for eloquence, elegance, or philosophic views. We may be thankful that he was, on the whole, honest and truthful, and that he faithfully records what he knew or could ascertain. Although most of the public events mentioned by him are recorded in the "Saxon Chronicle," yet for many interesting circumstances in the life of Alfred we are indebted to this biography alone. Mr. Wright has, however, raised doubts as to the authenticity of this work,\* which will be discussed further on, and which we think have been satisfactorily answered and set at rest by Dr. Lingard.†

Were it not for Asser we should know little more of Alfred than could be made out from the mention of some of his exploits in the chronicles of the period, and of his parentage, birth, death, and family. The chronicles or histories compiled by Ethelwerd, Simeon of Durham, Ingulphus, Florence of Worcester, Henry of Huntingdon, William of Malmesbury, Alfred of Beverley, Matthew of Westminster, together with those of the foreign writers, Hinemar, Albericus, Dudo de St. Quentin, William of Innièges, Ricarius, and the authors of the "Norman Chronicle," the "Chronicle of Tours," the "Annals of Fulda," and other collections, were mostly the productions of after ages of monks of literary taste, who diligently collected current traditions and worked them up into the shape of history. They can scarcely be considered evidence of the acts attributed to Alfred, since they were not written by persons cotemporaneous with him; but Asser was, and so were the compilers of the Saxon chronicles; hence the value of their records. Dr. Lingard well remarks, that if we have to give up Asser we may as well give up the rest, for the real history of Alfred, so far as his character and domestic life are concerned, would then be a blank.‡

What, then, are the points in Asser's narrative that have

\* *Biographia Literaria Britannica*, Anglo-Saxon Period, pp. 405-407.

† *History and Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, vol. ii., pp. 424-428.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 429.

led Mr. Wright to doubt the authenticity of his work, or, rather, of the work which bears his name? It is ascribed, on its own internal authority, to Asser, who is said to have been bishop of St David's, or of Sherborne, or of Exeter. There is also another short treatise called "The Annals of Asser," or "The Chronicle of St. Neot."\* Mr. Wright considers that both of these are to be looked upon as compilations of a later date. His objections to the authenticity of Asser are six in number. We will take them in their order. The first is the difficulty of ascertaining when and where Asser's bishopric existed. Asser himself says, "In these times (A. D. 884) I also came into Saxony (England) out of the furthest coasts of Western Britain; and when I had proposed to go to him (Alfred) through many intervening provinces, I arrived in the country of the Saxons, who live on the right hand, which in Saxon is called Sussex, under the guidance of some of that nation; and there I first saw him (Alfred) in the royal vill, which is called Dene." He goes on to describe his reception by the king and the offer the monarch made to him, his long sickness at Winchester, and his subsequent acceptance of the king's proposals, and he continues: "I did as I had promised to the king, and devoted myself to his service, on the condition that I should remain with him six months in every year, either continuously, if I could spend six months with him at once, or alternately, three months in Britain (Wales) and three in Saxony (England). For my friends hoped that they should sustain less tribulation and harm from King Hemeid, who often plundered that monastery and the parish of St. Deguus (or St. Dewi) and sometimes expelled the prelates as they expelled Archbishop Novis, my relation, and myself, if in any manner I could secure the notice and friendship of the king." From this passage it is clear that Asser came from Wales. Probably by "the parish of St. Deguus" is meant the diocese of St. David's, the word "parish" being sometimes used for diocese; as, for instance, where it is said that Alfred gave to

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\* See vol. iii. of *Gale and Fell's Collection of Historians*.

Asser the whole parish (*omnis parochia*) of Exeter.\* Novis, his "relation," was archbishop of St David's,† but it is not known over what territory King Hemeid reigned; he was probably a petty prince of south Wales.‡ Ingulf says that Asser was bishop of Bangor.§ That he was a Welshman, and a stranger among the Saxons when Alfred first invited him to court, there can be no doubt. Alfred, in his preface to his translation of Gregory's "Pastorale," calls Asser "his bishop," at a time when Wulfsgie was bishop of Sherborne; he must, therefore, have been bishop of some other see, and was subsequently promoted or translated to Sherborne.

It seems to us like raising unnecessary difficulty to make it an important point whether Asser was bishop of Sherborne at that time or not at all. There is no denying the main fact, that Alfred speaks of a friend whose name was Asser and whom he calls "his bishop," and there has come down to us a life of Alfred purporting to have been written by this Asser. We cannot explain certain discrepancies in the work, but what of that? Is it to be, therefore, set aside, as Mr. Wright would have it? At that rate we might reject half the history of the world. We pass on to Mr. Wright's second objection, viz., the fact that Asser should have written the life of Alfred while that monarch was living. If there be any difficulty in this it must be on account of the title of the book, which, instead of being a "Life," should have been "Reminiscences or Memoirs." But why Asser did not complete the history of Alfred, which is Mr. Wright's third objection, seeing that he lived nine years after Alfred's death, is a question not so easy to answer. Nevertheless, it is not necessary to the authenticity of what *has been* written that we should be able to give a reason. Neither does it appear why the writer discontinued his chronological entries at the year 887, when he states that he was writing in 893 (Wright's fourth objection). These objections of Mr. Wright's really amount to very little.

\* Asser, anno. 884. † Gilca, p. 72. ‡ Ibid.

§ *Historia*, ed. Savile, p. 870.



The work of Asser consists of two parts, viz., a few personal anecdotes and a chronicle of events strictly historical, from 851 to 887, which, according to Mr. Wright, is a mere translation from the Saxon Chronicle, which, he says, was not in existence till long after Alfred's death (the fifth objection). Now, this is little better than gratuitous assertion. There is more than one good reason for believing that the Anglo-Saxon chronicles were worked up after Latin models from various sources, and that they began to be regularly kept under Alfred about the year 890.\* Therefore Asser, who wrote in 893, could easily have consulted them. The anecdotes are engrafted in a clumsy manner upon the Chronicle at the years 866 and 884, without any particular reference to those years, and at the conclusion. Whether this was owing to defective taste and style, or whether these biographical particulars formed the original work and the annalistic portions were added afterwards, cannot now be decided. Dr. Pauli inclines to the belief that this curious commingling of annals and biography was a peculiarity of Asser's style,† while Mr. Wright disposes of the whole question summarily by supposing that the work was written in the time of Edward the Confessor,‡ it being the production of a monk who, with no great knowledge of history, collected some of the numerous traditions relating to King Alfred which were then current, and joined them with the legends of the Life of St. Neot, who died prior to the year 974, and with the historical entries of the Saxon Chronicle, and published them under the name of Asser, whom he styled bishop of Exeter.

The sixth objection is, after all, but an opinion of Mr. Wright's; he does not adduce any evidence in support of it, but merely suggests it as plausible, but if the anecdotes which appear in Asser's Life of Alfred are in reality taken from the Life of St. Neot, written perhaps a hundred years after Asser's time, certainly not less than seventy, they lose much

\* Pauli, *Life of Alfred*, p. 9.

† *Ibid.*

‡ *Biographia Britannica Literaria*, p. 411.

of their interest and authenticity, and it becomes important to settle the point. The famous story of Alfred being scolded by the peasant's wife for allowing the cakes to burn is omitted in the oldest manuscript of the Saxon Chronicle, but even in that manuscript there is a reference to the Life of St. Neot.\* This is certainly strange, and seems to sustain Mr. Wright's view; nevertheless, this manuscript may have been copied from an older one, and this reference inserted by the copyist. Many such cases of interpolation have occurred in ancient manuscripts which were copied from others previously in existence. The story of the cruel treatment of Queen Edburga, which was doubted by Mr. Wright, was found in the Cottonian Manuscript.† The defective state in which Asser's work has come down to us may account for many omissions and discrepancies. Dr. Pauli, Dr. Lingard,‡ and Dr. Lappenberg|| are each of opinion that the biographical episodes are the genuine productions of Asser.

The principal points which we propose to consider in the history of Alfred are, the state of learning in England, the condition of the arts and sciences, the influence of the church, and the political divisions and institutions of the country. And, first, with regard to learning. On Alfred's accession the ignorance of the people was deplorable. England had been desolated by the wars between the Saxon chiefs and the intestine struggles of the dying Heptarchy, which had terminated about half a century before he came to the throne, and by the inroads of the sea kings of the North. Learning was so trampled under foot that no traces of it were to be found except in Ireland, and in the north and west of England. Some vestiges of it, however, were left at the court. Alfred's mother, Asburga, taught him to recite the national poetry which was current in that day, and it is recorded that there was a tutor in the palace who had charge of the education of

\* *Biographia Britannica Literaria*, p. 410.

† Pauli, *Life of Alfred*, p. 14.

‡ *History and Antiquities of Anglo-Saxon Church*, vol. ii., pp. 424-428.

|| *History of England*, vol. i.

him and his brothers. When he was but four years old he was sent by his father to Rome, with a large retinue, to receive the blessing of the pope, Leo IV., and when he was six he was taken there again by his father. These journeys made a deep impression on his youthful mind, and as he grew up he grieved that his ardent desire for philosophical knowledge could not be satisfied, because the church of his native country did not possess a single person capable of teaching Latin.\* "There were but few south of the Humber who understood their prayers in English, or could even explain in English an epistle from the Latin. They were so few," says Alfred himself,† "that I do not actually recollect one south of the Thames when I began to reign."

In order to preserve what little learning and religion the devastating wars and inroads of the barbarians had left, Alfred zealously maintained his intercourse with Rome, and supported the Saxon school in that city. He entered into permanent relations with the head of christendom, and constantly sent valuable presents to the pope. From all quarters he invited learned men to reside in England, and he aided the formation of monastic schools. Men of eminence, like Plegmund, Werfrith, St. Neot, Johannes Erigena, Johannes de Corvey, Grimbold of St. Omer, and Asser soon clustered around him, while he himself set a brilliant example in his devotion to the cultivation of literature and the study of Latin, from which he translated Boëthius, Orosius, and the Pastoral and other writings of Gregory the Great, and Bede's Ecclesiastical History. He also composed works of his own of considerable merit; he certainly takes rank as one of the most distinguished of royal authors. Dr. Pauli thinks that Alfred was the originator of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, but there does not appear to be any reason for supposing that he had anything to do with it.

It is a vexed question whether the University of Oxford owes its origin to Alfred or not. Mr. Wright maintains that

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\* Pauli, p. 239.

† p. 316.

the legend of its foundation by Alfred is entirely exploded,\* and he treats as interpolations the passage in the *Life of St. Neot*, which states that Grimald was made professor in the new university; and also the passage in Camden's printed copy of Asser, referring to a great dispute between the old and new scholars there, which was settled by the intervention of Alfred. Pauli is of the same opinion,† but Huber thinks that the beginning and the end of the latter passage, in which are narrated the contests of the schoolmen and the efforts of Alfred to reconcile them, are authentic; but that the intermediate part tracing the foundation of the scholastic institutions at Oxford back to the fifth century is interpolated.‡ That learned German professor has collected all the evidence on the subject in a note to his valuable work on the English universities; but there is not enough in it to prove that Alfred founded the University of Oxford. There are traditions to that effect, and there is reasonable inference that schools existed in that city at an early period. Ingulphus, abbot of Crayland, who lived in the time of Edward the Confessor, states that he was sent to school, first at Westminster, and afterwards at Oxford; and as the country had been continually disturbed by invasions and intestine wars almost from the time of Alfred downward, it is agreed that there was no other period than Alfred's favorable to the foundation of a university. Tradition assigns to Alfred the building called the crypt of Grimbald and the church of St. Mary in Oxford, and there are in that city two very ancient streets called respectively School street and Thydiard street (*Vicus Schediasticorum*), which are mentioned in old documents.§

We see nothing unreasonable in the supposition that Alfred founded Oxford University. It is well known, as we have said, that schools existed there at a very remote period, and that

\* *Biographia Britannica Literaria*, p. 417.

† *Life of Alfred*, p. 268.

‡ Huber, *The English Universities*, vol. i., p. 47, and Note 4 (Newman's Abridgement).

§ Huber *ubi supra*.

there is no direct historical evidence to show when or how they originated. It is also a matter of history that, at the accession of Alfred, learning was almost extinct in England, but that he revived it by his own exertions and example, and by inviting into the country learned men from abroad, founding churches, monasteries, schools, and other public institutions all over the land, or wherever practicable; why, then, should he not have founded schools at Oxford? It was a place peculiarly fitted for a university. Situated in the middle of southern England, on several islands, in a broad plain through which many streams flow, it had easy communication with London and other parts; and in early times, owing to its marshes, it was inaccessible to an invading enemy. Its fortifications are recorded to have been of singular strength, and only once did the Danes occupy it (viz., in A.D. 1009). It was then an important place, and its prosperity depended on its schools. Many of these must have been primary schools, for they were filled with boys, and at times as many as thirty thousand students are said to have been there; but in this number are probably included barbers, copyists, waiters or servitors, and many others who were matriculated, and some of them actually took part in inferior scholastic exercises and were reckoned as *clerici*.<sup>\*</sup> To these Huber adds parchment preparers, illuminators, bookbinders, stationers, apothecaries, surgeons, *laundresses*, with their "understrappers," and other nondescripts.<sup>†</sup> If this singular statement be authentic, it would seem that some women, at least, had "rights" in those days which they do not possess in these, and *laundresses* in particular must have been a highly-favored class.

The most ancient known testimony to Alfred's patronage of Oxford is found in the annals of the pseudo-Asser, written in the eleventh century; but the authenticity of the passage has been much disputed. It relates to a violent disturbance at Oxford, which occurred in the year 886, respecting the observance of certain rules which had then recently been in-

<sup>\*</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 166.    <sup>†</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 67, n.

stituted by Grimbald of St. Omer and the learned men who came with him from France. These dissensions lasted three years, so that Alfred was constrained to go to Oxford in order to settle them. On this occasion, it is alleged, the Oxonians proved to the satisfaction of the king that their old ordinances had been established and ratified by Gildas, Melchin, Nennius, Kentigera, and others, thereby carrying back the origin of the Oxford schools to a more remote period. The evidence for and against the genuineness of this narrative is fully discussed by Huber,\* who holds that there is ample proof that Oxford University owes its origin to Alfred.

That the connection between the scholastic institutions of the ninth and the eleventh centuries was uninterrupted is not probable, considering the devastation and interruption of public affairs during the Danish invasions and the Norman conquests. Many scholastic buildings may have fallen into decay or reduced to ruins, though subsequently they may have been revived, as Oxford unquestionably was, and as was probably the case with the schools of Canterbury, St. Alban's, Lincoln, Westminster, Winchester, Peterborough, and others. There is the testimony of Ingulf, abbot of Crayland, who died at an advanced age in 1109, to the flourishing state of those to which he was sent, viz., Westminster and Oxford. He was at Westminster school in 1050, and subsequently at Oxford, where he studied Aristotle and Cicero. But it is fair to say that the genuineness of Ingulf's chronicle has been called in question. However, Huber and Lappenberg both accept the authenticity of this passage.† It has been contended that Alfred had a palace at Oxford, and that he personally superintended the schools there. On the occasion of a visit which Queen Elizabeth paid to the University of Cambridge, in 1564, one of the orators, in high-flown Latin, eulogized the greater supposed antiquity of that university as compared with that of Oxford. On this there arose a dispute between the two universities, which was carried on for many years, and which

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\* *Huber*, vol i., pp. 373-385.

† *Ibid*, vol i., p. 385.

gave occasion to the bringing forward of much spurious testimony on both sides ; hence doubt has been thrown on some that is really valuable, and at every step we take in the investigation we stumble upon the objections taken against Asser, St. Neot, Ingulf, William of Malmesbury and other early writers. How then shall we say for certain what the actual connection between Alfred and Oxford was ? "That Alfred frequently abode at Oxford is as certain," says Huber,\* "as that he had not his residence (or capital in a modern sense) there, for, in fact, he had no such fixed centre anywhere."

Now, Huber gives no authority on which any such "certainty" can be based. He admits that he could not find express evidence that Alfred had a palace at Oxford, and that he had not been able to discover the passage in the Domesday Book or in the laws of the Saxons to which Ingram referred on the subject ;† yet he says proof can scarcely be necessary, since Alfred's frequent stay there speaks for itself, and it is more than probable that for the before-mentioned schools he selected a spot in which he frequently resided and which was so suitable in itself. He also contends that the Oxford school mentioned by Asser was the *Schola Palatii* of Alfred, "which he had got together with great care out of many nobles of his own nation, and in which he had the sons of those *who were connected with the royal household* instructed in good morals and imbued with good literature." Ingram says : "there is reason to believe that, from a *period beyond all record*, there existed in the very centre of this city (Oxford) a spot more immediately dedicated to the purposes of general study and education. Even the good King Alfred has been generally considered rather as the restorer than the founder of the university."‡ He does not tell us, however, whether he went so far as the orators of the great university controversy, some of

\* Huber, vol. i., p. 385.

† *Memorials of Oxford, General History of the University*, vol. i., p. 14, and *The Schools*, *Ibid.*, p. 2.

‡ *Ubi supra*, p. 693.

whom referred the origin of Oxford schools to the era of the immigration of the Saxons, some to the development of christianity among the Britons; and some to the Deluge!

Perhaps at no period in the history of England was literature at so low an ebb as at the accession of Alfred (A.D. 871). Two centuries previously the monk Cædman had raised the reputation of Anglo-Saxon poetry to its height, but since his time it had steadily declined, until there was nothing left but the remembrance of it. Among the people there were in vogue many heroic tales and ballads relating to the exploits of their Teutonic ancestors, and these constituted nearly all the literature they possessed. These songs were handed down, orally, from generation to generation, and they were taught to Alfred, when a child, by his mother; and when he became king he caused his own children and those of others to learn at an early age the same poetic treasures in which he himself continually, even in his most clouded hours, found pleasure and consolation. The wisdom of this great man is shown in the child-like submission with which, at an advanced age, he again became a scholar. In his youth his ardent desire for knowledge was not satisfied, and during the times of war he had no leisure; but, as often as he could find time, he caused his bishops and learned men to read to him, and one of them was obliged to be generally near his person. He had learnt to read in his youth, but it was not until long after he attained to manhood that he acquired a knowledge of Latin and the art of writing. He carried about with him, in his bosom, a prayer-book which was written in his own hand-writing, though Dr. Pauli seems to doubt the fact of his having written it with his own hand.\*

The notes and quotations which Alfred added to this prayer-book became so bulky in time that he called it his manual. Fragments of it, only, have come down to us, which is the more to be regretted because it was his only original work, his others being translations, and it contained his notes upon the

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\* *Life of Alfred the Great*, p. 279.



early history of his people and of his own house. These fragments survived until the time of William of Malmesbury (the middle of the twelfth century), by whom they were preserved.\* Alfred received instruction from his ecclesiastics, and especially from Asser, in the literature of his time, the bulk of which was in Latin. He was especially charmed with Boëthius' "De Consolatione" and applied himself to its translation before turning his attention to any other work; but, as he was not sufficiently master of Latin to rely on himself alone, he obtained assistance from Asser. The service he rendered to literature was not confined to translating the works of standard authors, whereby the public taste was improved, but it extended to the rousing of the national mind to a sense of ignorance and indolence which had so long prevailed, and thereby creating a desire for knowledge.

Alfred translated Orosius' Universal History, Beda's History of the Anglo-Saxon Church, the Pastorale of Pope Gregory, the Soliloquies of St. Augustine, Boëthius' De Consolatione Philosophiæ, and the Psalmus (incomplete), from Latin into Anglo-Saxon, and some say he translated Æsop's Fables. Mr. Wright thinks that these translations are the purest specimens we possess of Anglo-Saxon prose.† The king treated the originals with great freedom, and seldom adhered to the letter of the work. He not unfrequently inserted passages of his own. Thus, in Boëthius, he makes some remarkable additions, and in Orosius he has given the narrative of two northern navigators, Ohtere and Wulfstan, whom he had personally examined. He transforms individual ideas in a manner peculiar to his nationality; and the Roman sentiments and feelings are extended or completely displaced by his own. Dr. Pauli thinks that in some instances Alfred's own words excel in force those of Boëthius, especially when treating of the nothingness of earthly splendor.‡ He points out several speci-

\* William of Malmesbury, ii., sec. 123. Vita Aldhelmi, p. 2.

† Biographia Britannica Literaria, Anglo-Saxon Period, p. 397.

‡ Life of Alfred, p. 287.

mens of Alfred's style wherein it excels that of the authors whom he translated, showing that the king possessed originality, although his original works are so few, being only two, viz., his Manual and his Proverbs.

The example set by Alfred was followed by his friends Asser and Werfirth, bishop of Worcester, the former of whom wrote his life; the latter translated Pope Gregory's Dialogues. Other works were attributed to Alfred, such as a book on falconry and a metrical version of Boëthius, but without sufficient foundation. It has also been surmised that he had a hand in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, but Mr. Wright has shown that there is no reason for believing that the king had anything to do with it.\* On the whole it may be said that Alfred recreated Anglo-Saxon literature, but the disordered state of England prevented its afterwards attaining to much eminence until it reappeared in the pages of Gower and Chaucer, having then emancipated itself from the thralldom of the mongrel Latin and French of the Normans. We must not, however, suffer ourselves to be led by the greatness of his exertions to estimate his learning at too high a rate. In "grammar" his skill was not very profound, because he had not been instructed in it in his youth; but his mind was great and comprehensive, and we need not examine his scholarship in detail in order to justify or enhance his reputation.

The policy of Alfred, in inviting foreign scholars into England, was adopted by many of his successors down to the time of the Norman conquest. Athelstein and Edward the Confessor are particularly deserving of mention in this respect. Archbishop Dunstan was second only to Alfred himself in his endeavors to elevate learning and science in England. Oswald, archbishop of York, 971, who had been educated in France, followed Dunstan's example. He brought over Abbo, of Fleury, who introduced many improvements into the schools, and much science.† The groundwork laid by Alfred

\* *Biographia Britannica Literaria*, art. "King Alfred," and Pauli's *Life of Alfred*, p. 316, n.

† *William of Malmesbury de Pontif*, p. 270.

bore ample fruit. From the numerous manuscripts which still remain, and from the known causes of the destruction of others, we have every reason to believe that there did once exist a very large body of Anglo-Saxon vernacular writings. It was at Alfred's suggestion that the famous Anglo-Saxon Chronicle was begun. Down to the year 981 it is supposed to have been compiled and written by Plegmund, archbishop of Canterbury, one of Alfred's learned men. From that period the narrative of cotemporary events was continued from time to time by different writers in the Anglo-Saxon tongue, until the entire breaking up of the language in the middle of the twelfth century.

But a still greater service was rendered to his country by Alfred in his compilation of the laws of the Anglo-Saxons in their own language. He first arranged and reduced into better order the various imperfect collections of legislative regulations which had been published and acted upon by the different kings who had lived before him, viz., the codes of Ina of Wessers, Appa of Mercia, and Ethelbert. These he submitted to his Witenagemste or assembly of wise men, who confirmed them.\* These laws were revised, enlarged, and published anew in the Anglo-Saxon language by some of Alfred's successors, and particularly by Athelstein, Ethelred, and Canute. This was all the more necessary, inasmuch as the knowledge of Latin was so rare and so slight in their time, even among the learned. Moreover there was profound state policy in cultivating the national language, and thus fostering native genius and rendering it independent of foreign aid. What a deplorable condition England must have been in during the tenth century, which was emphatically the dark age, may be inferred from two facts: one, which Alfred himself tells us, viz., that when he ascended the throne there were few persons south of the Humber who could translate from Latin into English,† the other, that before his time English was not

\* Schmid, *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, p. 40.

† Preface to Gregory's *Pastorale*, ed. M. Parker.

taught in the schools. Thus, if Latin was almost unknown and English not taught, the amount of learning must have been very small.

In the Anglo-Saxon schools the grammatical studies of the ninth and tenth centuries consisted of grammar, rhetoric, logic, arithmetic, music, geometry, astronomy, and medicine. This last was considered a very important branch of a scientific education, and the clergy became the chief medical practitioners; but it is strange that, with the single exception of medicine, there is no term in the Anglo-Saxon language for any of these branches of learning. In the glosses the original word is simply translated according to its component parts. Thus rhetoric is translated *thel-craft*; logic, *flit-craft*; grammar, *s'af-craft*; arithmetic, *rim-craft*; geometry, *earth-craft*; music, *son-craft*; astronomy, *bungetæ*, or the law of the constellations; astrology, *tungel-gescead*, or the reason of the constellations; and mechanics, *orthanc-scipe*, or ingenuity.\* The elementary treatises were written in Latin; these were orally translated and explained to the pupils by the teacher, and the pupils had to commit them to memory and repeat the teacher's comments. When they had mastered the rudiments of grammar they were taught Latin dialogues, and thence went on to the study of the ancient authors, all of which was included under the name of grammar. We find the origin of our modern catechisms among the forms of education then in use. Not only were many of the elementary treatises on grammar written in the shape of question and answer, with the object of making them easier to learn and to understand, as well as of encouraging the practice of Latin conversation, but the first books in the other sciences were also written in like manner. Afterwards, when the Latin tongue ceased to be a conventional language among the learned to the same extent as before, the elementary grammars were accompanied by an Anglo-Saxon gloss, in which, separately from the text, each word of the original was repeated with its meaning in the ver-

\* Wright, *Biog. Brit. Lit.*, Intro., p. 71.

nacular tongue; and then, as a still further advance in rendering it popular, the Latin grammar itself was published only in an Anglo-Saxon translation. These transitions mark the decay of learning; and, indeed, we find that Alfric, to whom we owe the translation of the Latin grammar into Anglo-Saxon, and who ranks next to Alfred in literary eminence, complains of the low state of Latin literature in England. Alfric also introduced introductory reading-books with interlinear versions; and we may here mention that in the Anglo-Saxon schools the rod was used very liberally, and the school-boys in the monasteries were subjected to a severe course of religious service.

The state of the sciences among the Anglo-Saxons appears to have been very low. Among those which the schools professed to teach was geometry, but, in Alfred's time, it is probable that this was understood to mean nothing more than simple mensuration, and there is no reason to believe that the Anglo-Saxons had any acquaintance with mathematics as a pure and abstract science. It was not until the reign of Athelstan, half a century later, that Euclid's Elements were introduced.\* Of course no real understanding of or progress in astronomy could be made without a knowledge of mathematics, and, accordingly, we find that the science scarcely existed among the people. Nevertheless, in the tenth century, a treatise on the principal astronomical phenomena was written in Anglo-Saxon, explaining them in a manner suited to ordinary capacities; it was very popular in that and in succeeding ages. The system is based upon the theory that the earth is stationary, and that the sun and the moon revolve round it. Thus the author (unknown) says: "Our earthly night truly comes by the earth's shadow when the sun goes in the evening under the earth; then is the earth's broadness between us and the sun, so that we have not the illumination of her shine until she rises up again at the other end."† He recognized the

\* *Rara Mathematica* (edited by Halliwell), p. 56.

† The original is in the British Museum. Cotton MS., liber D, xxvii  
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spherical form of the earth, but did not go beyond what was known to the later Romans in this respect.

As regards geography, in which the Anglo-Saxons took especial interest, owing to their spirit of adventure and their fondness for the sea, they derived all they knew about it from the Greeks and Romans. Their maps were made after Roman models. In the British Museum there is a map of the world, which accompanies the *Periegesis* of Priscian, and was made in the tenth century.\* It is not generally known that the Anglo-Saxons were skilful navigators. So early as the seventh century they were in the habit of going to Rome by sea, and at the end of that century a Frankish bishop, named Arculf, who was returning from the Holy Land, and had visited Constantinople, Damascus, Alexandria, and many islands in the Mediterranean, was wrecked on the coast of England, where he became acquainted with the Abbot Adaneman, who committed to writing and published what the traveller had narrated. It is probable that the Anglo-Saxons visited not only Italy but the East. In the year 883, King Alfred sent Sighelm, bishop of Sherborne, to India, to visit the scenes of the labors of St. Thomas and St. Bartholomew, and Sighelm not only reached in safety this distant land, but brought back with him many of its productions, and particularly some gems and relics, which were still preserved in his church in the time of William of Malmesbury.† The king himself, in his preface to his translation of Orosius, has given us the narratives of two voyages of discovery, which he took down from the mouths of the explorers, one of whom, Ohtere, had sailed to the North Cape, the other, Wulfstan, along the northern shores of the Baltic.

The system of medicine taught in Alfred's time was derived mainly from a Latin herbal, published under the name of "Apuleius," a tract, attributed to Antonius Musa, on the virtues of the herb betony, and another bearing the title of "*Medicina Animalium*," attributed to Sextus Philosophus. These

\* MS., Cotton, liber B. v., fol. 58.

† *William of Malmesbury*, p. 248. *Saxon Chronicle*, A.D. 883.

three tracts, translated into Anglo-Saxon, formed the popular textbook of the physicians of that day. They are full of absurdities—one of them professing to contain the instruction given to Achilles by the centaur, Chiron; the others containing antidotes against spectres, fearful sights, and dreams. The Anglo-Saxons were very superstitious, and they held in reverence the remedies which had been in use among their ancestors. In the early part of the tenth century a work on medicine was written in the Anglo-Saxon language. A manuscript copy of this curious treatise is preserved in the British Museum. It presents a very interesting picture of the then state of medical knowledge, and is divided into two parts, the first relating to the treatment of external diseases, wounds, and contusions, the second relating to internal diseases and those of a more complicated nature, which develop themselves externally, as small-pox, fevers, and the like. From this treatise we learn that the remedies in vogue were chiefly vegetable, though mixed up sometimes with other substances, such as ale and honey, fat, oil, wine, boiled ashes, plantain, mulberries, rue, sheep's marrow, and salt. It is a wonder that patients survived the treatment occasionally resorted to by the Anglo-Saxon physicians. For example, to cure sore eyes, a paste made of pepper, strawberry plants, and sweet wine was applied. In small-pox, when the symptoms first appeared, the patient was bled and made to drink a bowl-ful of melted butter, and if the pustules had broken out the physician picked them all out carefully with a thorn, and poured a drop of wine or alder syrup into the sores. As to surgical operations they were mostly confined to the setting of bones, bleeding, staunching wounds, and applying poultices. Honey mixed with salt, and warmed, was a favorite medicament for cleansing wounds. The use of medicated baths, that is, of baths where the water was flavored with a strong decoction of herbs, such as betony, henbane, sage, centaury, red nettle, agrimony, wild marjoram, broom, ivy, and mugwort. The patients were also required to drink decoctions of these herbs boiled in Welsh ale!

The Anglo-Saxon physicians observed times and seasons, and were very superstitious in regard to them. Each day had with them its peculiar attributes; thus a child born on the first day of the month would live, one born on the second would not, one born on the fourth would be a great politician, one born on the tenth would be a great traveller, if born on the twenty-first he would be a great robber, and so on. They believed that inward diseases were caused by evil spirits, or by the charms of witches, or by the evil eye, and, to expel the former or counteract the latter, they had resource to charms and incantations, exorcisms, and counter-charms. The latter object was generally effected by charming the disease into a stick, which was then thrown across the highway, and the disease was thus removed and communicated to the first person who picked up the stick. Diseases caused by evil spirits were cured by the patient's drinking a potion, compounded of clear ale and herbs, out of a church bell, the priest chanting over him while he was drinking. The Anglo-Saxons also used their ancient *runes* for charms and amulets, causing them to be engraved on their weapons and on other articles which they carried about with them.\*

In Alfred's time, the art of mining had sunk so low that the obtaining of tin from the mines of Cornwall, which had formerly been the great link of connexion between Britain and the Continent, was no longer followed.† But iron was manufactured in some abundance in the counties of Gloucester, Hereford, and Somerset, and lead was found in Derbyshire, and used in sheets to cover the roofs of large buildings. Moreover, William of Poitiers says that, from its abundance of gold, Britain deserved to be called the treasury of Arabia,‡ but this must surely be a gross exaggeration; he may, perhaps, mean that the Anglo-Saxons possessed large quantities of gold, which they imported, principally, for ornamental uses. The embroid-

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\* See Introduction to *Biographia Britannica Literaria* generally.

† Lappenberg, *England under the Saxon Kings*, vol. ii., p. 363.

‡ Gulielm Pictav, p. 210.



ery and other works in gold of the Anglo-Saxons excited the admiration of the Greeks and Saracens, and very elegant workmanship of the time of Alfred has been preserved. Instruction in works of gold was remunerated by the donation of half a hide of land, and a peculiar kind of gold embroidery was devised for the royal family. The Germans came to England to learn from the Anglo-Saxons, and foreign merchants brought the most costly works of the kind to England, where they were sure to obtain a good price for them.\* Mints for coining money were established in several cities and were protected by stringent laws. The coiners were not unskilful artists, as the coins still preserved attest; these coins have handed down to us the likenesses of the earliest kings of the Angles and the Saxons.

The early years of Alfred's reign, owing to the continual warfare with the Danes, were unfavorable to the pursuit of agriculture, on which the Saxons prided themselves. The raising of cattle was one of the principal occupations of the people. Horses and swine were raised in great numbers, so were bees, because, as we have already stated, honey was in universal demand as a medicine. The brewing of good beer was another important branch of industry, and one of the laws of Chester directed that every man or woman brewing adulterated beer should forfeit four shillings, or be placed in the cucking stool. Enormous quantities of beer were consumed by the Anglo-Saxons. Alfred could do little towards introducing reforms in these national characteristics; in fact, his time was too much absorbed in other more pressing matters, and he thought that the true and only effective way to ameliorate the condition of his people was to educate them and teach them to reform themselves.

During the early Saxon times in England, previous to Alfred, the clergy were not so free and influential as their brethren in most of the continental states, for, though ecclesiastics sometimes gained power over individual kings, such

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\* Lappenberg, vol. ii., p. 364.

cases were of rare occurrence and without lasting consequences. That close connection between the Anglo-Saxon states and Rome did not exist, whereby the latter could extend its powerful aid to its servants. Boniface, archbishop of Mentz, declared that no cloisters were in such a state of slavery as those of the Anglo-Saxons, for they were compelled to pay their quota towards keeping in repair the bridges and fortresses and maintaining the military levy, and were sometimes taxed like the rest of the community and bound to entertain the king's huntsmen and followers in their monasteries.\* Owing to their distance from Rome and their slender dependence on the papal chair, the people retained their mother tongue as the language of their church, which in after times was never entirely banished by the priests from their most sacred services. The mass itself was not read entirely in the Latin tongue. The wedding service was performed in Anglo-Saxon.† Pilgrimages were frequent and popular, and were encouraged by the Anglo-Saxon kings. Alfred himself was twice in Rome, and contributed largely to the support of the Saxon school there. He maintained regular intercourse with the pope, and by inviting foreign ecclesiastics to take up their abode in England he contributed materially to the strengthening of the influence of the church there.

Thus we find that the men who possessed most influence with him were Archbishop Plegmund and Bishops Asser and Werfrith, and the foundations laid by them enabled Dunstan and others to obtain control of public affairs at a subsequent period; the influence of the clergy gradually increased until it attained to its height under Edward the Confessor. Alfred greatly contributed to this transition by his popularizing of such works as Gregory's *Pastorale* and the *Meditations* of St. Augustine, also the *Psalms*, either by direct translation or indirect encouragement. His translation of Bede's *Ecclesiastical*

\* Wilkins' *Concilia*, vol. i., p. 93.

† Palgrave's *Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth*, Anglo-Saxon Period, vol. ii., p. 136.

History was another great work which contributed to engender respect for the authority of the church. But, with one or two exceptions, the Anglo-Saxon clergy did not attain to eminence in learning as many of their brethren on the continent did, nor do we find that they were held in much esteem abroad. The names of Dunstan, Boniface, and Alcuin were almost the only ones who gained a European reputation.

The ecclesiastical divisions of England were formed under the Anglo-Saxons, and the dioceses now existing, with the exception of that of Carlisle (created by Henry I.), the four created by Henry the Eighth, viz., Gloucester, Bristol, Oxford, and Peterborough, and the two created by Queen Victoria, viz., Manchester and Ripon, are identical with the ancient ones. Kent contained the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury and the bishopric of Rochester. The bishopric of London comprised Middlesex, Essex, and part of Hertfordshire. East Anglia was under two sees, that of Dunwich for Suffolk, and that of Elmham for Norfolk; but Elmham was transferred by William the Conqueror to Thetford, and by William Rufus to Norwich. In Wessex the first see was Dorchester, from which Winchester was subsequently detached, and one was established at Sherborne, to which Alfred's friend Asser was appointed. Sherborne was removed by the Conqueror to Old Sarum, and the bishoprics of Wells (afterwards conjoined with Bath), Ramesbury (subsequently reunited to Sarum), and Crediton (afterwards transferred to Exeter, to which the Cornish bishoprics of St. Petroc's or St. Germain's were united subsequently) were taken from it. In Sussex was the bishopric of Selsea, afterwards transferred to Chichester.

In Mercia the dioceses of Lichfield and Hereford comprised the whole territory, but from the former were detached the sees of Worcester, Leicester, and Sidnacester or Lindsey (subsequently Lincoln). The archiepiscopal diocese of York originally comprised all the territory north of the Humber and south of the Clyde. The see of Lindisfarne, or Holy Island, comprised the whole of that portion of it called Bernicia, until the

see of Hexham was established. When Lindisfarne was destroyed by the Danes, the see was transferred to Chester, and finally to Durham. That portion of it which was in what is now Scotland, fell in the reign of Malcolm Canmore to the see of St. Andrew's. Holy Island, or Iona, was transferred to the Bishop of Sodor and Man. The see of Witherne comprised Galloway and the south-west of Scotland, and subsequently fell under the see of Glasgow. The Welsh clergy refused subordination to the English church until the accession of the Norman dynasty. They had one archbishopric, that of Caerleon, then Menevia, and subsequently St. David's, and three bishoprics, viz., Llandaff, Bangor, and St. Asaph, or Llan Elwy. Such were the ecclesiastical divisions of England in Alfred's time. We now turn to the political divisions which have been a subject of considerable discussion.

Hume asserts that Alfred "divided all England into counties; these counties he subdivided into hundreds, and the hundreds into tithings."\* This is a fair specimen of writing history at random. The division of England here spoken of has been one of very great importance to the nation at all times, and is so at the present day even; and its origin deserves to be traced with far more care than Hume bestowed upon it. In fact, he bestowed very little, and his history of the Anglo-Saxons is superficial and unsatisfactory. But not less so is that of a recent writer, Sir Francis Palgrave, who undertook to write a popular history of England after the style of Sir Walter Scott's "*Tales of a Grandfather*," and in doing so disposed of the subject as follows: "The division of England into shires and hundreds—trial by jury—the frankpledge, or the regulation by which the lower orders of the people were formed into companies or bands of ten or more, mutually responsible for each other's appearance in case any one was accused of crime—have all been considered as established by Alfred, though he really had no claim to their invention. But the fact is, that if any part of the legal fabric, of which the

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\* *History of England*, chap. 2.

origin is unknown, possessed peculiar utility, it was supposed to be Alfred's on the mere strength of his general reputation; just as virtuosi fancy they trace the hand of Phidias or Praxiteles in a state of peculiar beauty, but of which the history cannot be ascertained."\*

The truth is that the shires or counties into which England is divided assumed their present shape in consequence of the changes which from time to time took place in the political affairs of the country. Thus Kent was originally a Saxon kingdom, which was ultimately absorbed into the kingdom of the West Saxons, and was then mediatized into a county. The same was the case with those portions of England settled respectively by the Middle Saxons, the East Saxons, the South Saxons, the North folk, and the South folk, or people, which, when absorbed into the kingdom of England, retained their boundaries, but were styled counties, and became known by the names of Middlesex, Essex, Sussex, Norfolk, and Suffolk. So the far more ancient districts of the Hwiccas, the Lindesse, and Cornailles became counties under the names of Worcester, Lincoln, and Cornwall. The history of Mercia and Wessex affords the presumption that many others of the shires of these kingdoms were originally distinct and original royalties, formed by the Anglo-Saxons as they were won from the Britons, either by conquest or qualified submission, or by the marriage of a native princess with an invading chieftain.†

That portion of England which lies north of the Humber and south of the Firth of Forth was originally divided into a very large tract called North-Humber-Land, which extended as far as Edinburgh, and was sub-divided into Deira and Bernicia, and Cumberland, Westmere, Strathelyde, and Galloway. The portion north of the Tweed was subsequently ceded by king Edgar to Kenneth III. of Scotland, who annexed the kingdoms of Strathelyde and Galloway, and also Bernicia. Then Northumberland was divided into the counties of Hexham

\* *History of England*, vol. i., pp. 189-90.

† *Palgrave's Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth*, vol. i., p. 116.

and Durham, Deira and Northumberland proper. The kingdoms of Cumberland and Westmoreland became counties, and after the conquest the tract between the Ribble and the Mersey was formed into a county and named Lancashire. Deira was transformed into Yorkshire, and Hexhamshire was absorbed into Northumberland. In this way the northern counties were formed. Some small counties were suppressed and annexed to a larger district; thus Winchelcombshire was united to Gloucestershire in the year 1017 by Edric Streone.\* These instances will sufficiently indicate the origin of the counties, and show that in reality Alfred had very little to do with creating them.

The truth seems to be that Alfred originated very little, but he so remodelled the previously existing institutions of the country as to endue them with fresh vigor. "His innovations," says Pauli, "partake far less of a political than of an ethical nature, and it is astonishing to reflect how nearly he left the constitution as it was before, after all political ties had been dissolved, hastening, with a true knowledge of the dangers by which they were menaced, to save his people by elevating their moral condition: a course which none but the princes just mentioned (Charlemagne, Otto I., Henry III.) had been able to follow with equal resolution and enthusiasm."† He did not govern every portion of his kingdom in the same manner or by the same laws. Thus the government of Mercia, after the peace of Wedmor, when it ceased to be an independent kingdom and became subject to Alfred, received from him a complete modification, differing from that of every other portion of the kingdom. His daughter Athelfled and her husband ruled there as viceroys. In Kent, after the expulsion of the Danes, he allowed the old Jutish customs to remain in force, but only so long as distinct Danish blood ran in the veins of the inhabitants, but in a short time it succumbed to the preponderating influence of the West Saxon laws; yet some customs, such as that of gavelkind, remained in force down to a very recent period. Very few details have reached us of the

\* *Hemingi Cartularium*, p. 280. † *Life of Alfred the Great*, p. 197.

manner in which Alfred governed his various provinces, among which existed so many dissimilarities in origin, language, manners, and customs. Some of the dukes or earls who governed them possessed more power than others; some were mere officers of the royal household. The aldermen or earls had in some cases hereditary rights, but in Alfred's time this hereditary supremacy began to disappear.

Dr. Pauli thinks that we are justified in believing that, after the universal ravages of the Danes, and for the interest of the commonwealth as well as for that of private property, Alfred caused a fresh survey to be made of all the boundaries of the kingdom, although the assertion that he ordered a regular register to be drawn up, and all the land to be measured, seems to have emanated from the Domesday Book. He thinks that the division of the country into shires, hundreds, and tithings had existed as long as the Teutonic race had been settled in it, and formed the real germs of the state; it merely underwent, at this period, an essential change in its character, and began to lose its politics—social significance for a local one, destined to replace the old distinctions which had lost their former importance.\*

But the great step for which England is indebted to Alfred was the separation of the administration of justice from the government. Up to this period the earl and the alderman had administered justice in their districts as the king had done in the Witenagemste; but we now find for the first time regular judges, independent of the officers of state and the heads of the different provinces. The earl and alderman enjoyed precisely the same dignity they did before, but they were directed to confine their attention more especially to the public affairs of their districts, and particularly to its defence and all the necessary military measures.†

Another service rendered to England by Alfred was the rebuilding and restoration of London, which had suffered greatly from having been frequently plundered and burnt by the Danes. In the year 880 he installed the Earl of Mercia there

\* *Life of Alfred the Great*, p. 201.

† *Ibid.*

as ruler, according to Asser, "*Londoniam civitatem honorifice restauravit et habitabilem fecit, quam genero suo Othredo Merciarum comiti commendavit servandum.*"\* At that time London was the emporium of the whole island, as it had been in the days of the Romans and of the Britons before them, and it carried on a brisk trade in the exporting of wool and corn, but no statistics as to its population, extent, or other particulars have come down to us.

The geographical position of England has saved her from being embroiled in the affairs of continental Europe, except in so far as she has voluntarily interfered in them. Harassed as the country was in Alfred's time by the swarms of pirates, whom historians call by the generic name of Danes, although they consisted of mixed hordes from the coasts of the Baltic and the North Sea, and frequently included Norwegians, Swedes, Gothlanders, Scanians, Jutes, Finns, Lithuanians, Esthonians, Wends, Frisians, Saxons, Batavians, and Flemings, as well as Danes proper, the English had but little leisure to pay attention to foreign affairs. Europe itself was distracted in all quarters. Germany was rent by the squabbles of the successors of Charlemagne for more territory than they inherited. Italy was suffering from invasions of the dreaded Saracens, and Spain had been subjugated by them, excepting the northern part of the peninsula, where the kings of Leon, successors of the renewed Pelayo, held the Moslem at bay. France was less disturbed, except on her northern shores, where Rollo and his Northmen had established themselves and laid the foundations of the Duchy of Normandy. Alfred cultivated friendly relations with the royal family of France, and these relations continued down to the time of the Norman conquest, being kept alive by intermarriage and political alliances by his successors.

We have already alluded to the close intimacy which Alfred maintained with Rome. He looked to the papal see for guidance and as the source whence he might obtain the learning which was to regenerate his own country, and from the

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\* *Life of Alfred*, sec. 489.



church he obtained his ablest counsellors and most attached friends.

Nearly all the historians of Alfred have been enthusiastic in their estimate of his genius and character. Dr. Pauli can see scarcely a fault in him, and claims him as a German and one of the most illustrious of his own countrymen. Hume, also, speaks of him as "the model of that *perfect character* which, under the denomination of a sage or wise man, philosophers have been fond of delineating rather as a fiction of their imagination than in hopes of seeing it really existing—so happily were all his virtues tempered together, so justly were they blended, and so powerfully did each prevent the other from exceeding its proper boundaries. He knew how to reconcile the most enterprising spirit with the coolest moderation, the most obstinate perseverance with the easiest flexibility, the most severe justice with the gentlest lenity, the greatest vigor in commanding with the most perfect affability of deportment, the highest capacity and inclination for science with the most shining talents for action. His civil and military virtues were almost equally the objects of our admiration." Dr. Lingard, however, objects to the unqualified praise bestowed upon Alfred, and speaks of the impetuosity of his passions in the early part of his reign, his immorality, despotism, haughtiness, and neglect of duty, but he admits that Alfred at a later period of his life became the guardian and benefactor of his country.

Whatever Alfred's failings may have been—and to suppose him to have been without any is to suppose him not to have been human—he was unquestionably the greatest man whom the Anglo-Saxons produced. He delivered his country from the invader under circumstances of almost hopeless difficulty, he renovated and reformed her institutions, established law, order, and learning, created a powerful navy and laid the foundation of England's naval renown, and died universally beloved and regretted, transmitting to his successors a consolidated and orderly realm, which would in all probability have remained so had they possessed a tenth part of his honesty and abilities.

- ART. II.—1. *Vie de Madame de Sévigné*. J. WALSH. Paris.
2. *Eloge de la Marquise de Sévigné*. SABATIER. Avignon.
3. *Madame de Sévigné and her contemporaries*. London. 1868. 2 vols in 8vo.
4. *Les Amoureux de Mme. de Sévigné*. J. BABOU. Paris. 1862. 8vo.

PERHAPS there is no name in the annals of celebrated women so suggestive of agreeable ideas as that of Madame de Sévigné. We read of many who, endowed with a higher heroism than hers, have won for themselves a deathless reputation—of women of much more brilliant genius, who have left no sayings of wit and wisdom with which our minds will never grow unfamiliar, and of acts of deeper and far sterner devotedness in the “noble army of the martyrs,” the recollection of which will help to exalt the souls and revive the sinking courage of sufferers yet unborn. All such records have, no doubt, their high and important uses. They are as the thews and sinews by the strength of which Progress is enabled to push aside the great impeding obstacles which beset her path. But it is not by strength alone that she moves in beauty and harmony, without haste or rest. Life, to be really life, must be cheered and sweetened as well as sustained and braced.

“For several virtues have we loved several women;” and to take our heroine for all in all, we aver that in no *one* woman will be found so rare a combination of the lovable with the respectable, of sense with sensibility, of earnestness of mind with the most charming gayety of temperament, so nice a balance, in short, of all the qualities which seem best to fit their happy possessor for the full enjoyment at once of the earth to which we belong and of the heaven to which we aspire. Of the whole bright sisterhood, therefore, no one who has lived within the last two hundred years commends herself so heartily to our good will

and affection as this gay and amiable Frenchwoman. The most delightful of letter-writers, the most tender and devoted of mothers, and the kindest of friends, she was the ornament of a brilliant and corrupt court, all the bad elements of which, though she often ventured to play with them—even to use them as incitements to her wit and vivacity—her *bon naturel*, or healthy moral nature, enabled her to throw from her, when she felt them dangerous to virtue, as easily, almost as unconsciously, as the sea-bird from his wing the water drops which would impede his upward flight.

In these days of multiplied and lengthy biographies, it seems strange to think of the difficulty there is to find any authentic details of the early days of one who, in her inseparable character as woman and writer, enjoys so high a reputation. The notices prefixed to the earlier editions of her letters contain little more than a mere sketch of the family-tree, with the necessary dates of births, marriages, and deaths. Nor have those that follow helped us to many facts of her early history. Her elevated social position and the esteem with which she was regarded by a large circle of admirers have insured her honorable mention by the writers of her own day; but this is chiefly, of course, in the form of characterization or allusions, which refer to particular incidents or conversations. It is in her own pages, rather than in those of her contemporaries, that we must read both her life and character, and we have no reason to complain of want of materials by which a correct idea of them may be formed. By a series of letters, dated from the twentieth to the last year of her life, she succeeds in making us thoroughly familiar with herself and the world to which she belongs; not only with her goings and comings, and the manner in which every day, almost every hour, is passed, but with her thoughts, feelings, and affections. As we read, her inner as well as her outward life seems to roll itself before our delighted apprehension—clear, distinct, and faithful to the minutest details, as if sun-painted. And not her own life alone, for with the gay, unconscious ease

of a perfectly well-bred hostess, she not only makes herself known to us, but contrives to introduce us without any effort, and as they happen to present themselves, to the multitude of remarkable personages by whom she is surrounded; makes us listen to conversations innumerable, and to the history of a thousand interesting occurrences, always set off and illustrated by her own lively comments, till at last, having lived through long years with the whole *dramatis personæ*, we feel delightfully familiar with its every member; constrained not alone to love the amiable and admire the brilliant among them, but to think some kind thoughts even of the harsh and formidable. True genius is ever genial; "it has its name hence;" and to interpret between minds the most dissimilar is not the least service it renders. All honor, then, to the humanity of that fine medium through which traits of kind-heartedness and of disinterested benevolence are made discernable in a Rochefoucault, and something of gentleness and heroism even in a De Retz.

It was impossible, however, that so rare and fine an insight could be used only in one direction. Leigh Hunt objects to Madame de Sévigné, and with perfect justice, that, "with all her good-humor, the charming woman had a sharp eye for a defect." In the full flow of a confidential correspondence between the most loving of mothers and her daughter, there was every temptation to speak of the persons who chanced to be its subject with a measure of truth and of gay freedom that would probably have been agreeable neither to themselves nor to their immediate descendants. We find, accordingly, without its being matter of wonder, that these matchless letters which for the last hundred and fifty years all the world have delighted to honor, and have united in considering as models in style, sentiment, and matter, became first known to the public without consent of friends, and for a long time were published but sparingly and piecemeal. In one way and another, however, they have all at last oozed out. About sixty years ago the first full collection of them

was published in Paris, and various memoirs of the author, chiefly drawn from this source, have since appeared in France, England, and America. No very good translation into English has yet been made, though two of England's most celebrated letter-writers, Horace Walpole and the poet Gray, were among her fervent admirers; the latter being said, though we do not see with what good reason, to have formed his style on her's.

Marie de Rabutin Chantal, born Baroness de Chantal and Bourbilly, afterwards Madame de Sévigné, first saw the light in the ancestral château of Bourbilly, between Samur and Epoisses, on the 5th of February, 1627. Her father, the Baron Celse Benique de Rabutin, was of the elder branch of his name, and was cousin to the famous wit and satirist, Bussy de Rabutin. Her mother, Marie de Coulanges, daughter of a secretary of state, was also of a family celebrated for wit, and her paternal grandmother, Jeanne Françoise Fremyot, afterwards known as the "Blessed Mother of Chantal," was a canonized saint. The families of Chantal and Fremyot were both notable for their integrity, and as the whole united stock, with the solitary exception of the worldly and intriguing Bussy, were distinguished equally for worth, spirit, and ability, we are justified in assuming that our heroine was *well-born* in the very best sense of the word. In her own wit, integrity, and natural piety we see a portion of what was best in all her kindred; and if she had also a spice of her formidable cousin's satire she had none of his malignity or sharpness, and her graceful gayety and fine tact set her far before him even on his own ground.

During the siege of Rochelle, and when the little Marie was scarcely a year old, the bold baron, her father, died bravely fighting against the English in their descent on the island of Ré. It has been said that he received his death-wound from the hand of Cromwell. Her mother only survived him a few years, and it was to be expected that the devout grandmother, Madame de Chantal, the elder, would have

taken the orphan under her own care. But whether it was that the future saint was as little interested in her son's widow and child as some mothers-in-law among sinners have been, or that she was too much occupied in forming religious houses (of which she established no fewer than eighty-seven), the old lady at once waived her privilege, and left her grand-daughter in the hands of her maternal relatives. This was a happy event for her. Instead of having her delightful nature cramped and formalized by the conventional education, she enjoyed all the social advantages of the time. She was brought up with her fellow-wit and future correspondent, Philippe Emanuel de Coulanges, for whom she always entertained the most sincere affection; and her uncle, Christophe, Abbé de Livry, became a second father to her. He was a man of sense and worth, with some little peculiarities of temper, and a leaning towards good eating and drinking and an easy life. He talked to her and encouraged her to read and learn from his friends; sent her often to court, where she acquired polish and grace; chose a husband for her, if not wisely, at least to the best of his judgment; and helped her to bring up her children. He extricated her affairs from the confusion in which her father's extravagance and sudden death had involved them, and taught her to manage her own business and fortune with that prudent and liberal economy the practice of which afterwards enabled her both to live in comfort and elegance herself, and to follow towards others the dictates of her natural generosity. He treated her, in short, affectionately, and with the reasonable indulgence of a parent; spent the remainder of his life with her after her widowhood, and, at his death, left her his whole fortune.

In those days no particular interest in the proper development of the youthful female intellect had, as yet, suggested itself to the most benevolent minds of any country. A few of the great women of France were then, as at all other times, carefully educated by men of learning; but most young ladies of rank were taught little more than to read, write, dance, and

embroider, with more or less attention to books of religion, as their training was or was not of the convent. Neither music nor painting seems to have formed part of the education of the upper ranks. These accomplishments were left to professional people; and Ninon de l'Enclos, who was probably too knowing to neglect any art by which she might become more attractive, is the only distinguished person who is ever named as playing on any instrument. A great deal of time was spent by them at their work-frames, where they employed their ingenuity on those stupendous tapestry-hangings, specimens of which are yet shown in some great houses as monuments of the fine taste and industry of the ladies of old. And every lady of high degree had a *demoiselle de compagnie*, whose business it was to read aloud, for the benefit of the workers, some book of history or poetry, or one of the high-flown romances of Calprenède, Scudery, or La Fayette, according to the taste of the principal person of the party.

Mademoiselle de Rabutin had probably her share of such instruction as this implies, and doubtless a good deal of a better kind besides. She was brought up at home, the companion of her clever relatives; had the *entrée* to her uncle's library, and would be helped by him to a little Latin, and also in her Italian studies, of which she was very fond. She had friends and acquaintances among the pious ladies of the Porte Royale, who would give her good advice and religious instruction, and she was liked and talked to by her uncle's friends, among whom were Chapelain, Menage, and other professors of polite literature. Here was opportunity enough for the nourishment of the affections; and if such desultory means of intellectual culture should not be deemed sufficient to account for the extent and variety of knowledge to be found in her letters, we must call to mind that, after all, the essential parts of youthful education are simply to learn the habit of acquiring information and a knowledge of the best methods. If the vessels be prepared and the channels open, the stream will flow readily in from all quarters. She appears to have had at least this foundation,

and her own clever head and lively temperament would help her to all the rest.

In addition to all these advantages of birth and breeding our youthful Marie was blessed with a healthy frame, good spirits, a natural flow of wit, and a very agreeable person. Her features were far from being regularly beautiful; the point of her nose, as she herself merrily describes it, "tending a little towards the *square*," and her eyes, though brilliant, being rather small, and, together with the eyelashes, of different tints. She is said to have been somewhat tall for a woman, with a good shape, a pleasing voice, a fine complexion, and a profusion of light hair. This description agrees well with a portrait there is of her in the gallery of Versailles, in which she is represented in the bloom of youth, and with the coloring of Rubens' fairest women. The ill-natured Bussy, who, while smarting under her rejection of his addresses, draws a picture of her, makes the most of the slight defects of her face, and adds to them the conventional objection to her manners, that "she was too playful for a woman of quality." He afterwards withdraws his censure and eulogizes her beauty and wit to the skies, saying "she deserved to have been a goddess." But the true idea we form from her portraits, her friends, and herself is, that she was an attractive woman in the highest sense of that term, with cordial manners, and a countenance as expressive of the beautiful soul which informed it as of that tender heart so

"Quick to catch joy, and true to touch of woe."

Such she was at the age of eighteen, when her uncle selected for her husband Henri, Marquis de Sévigné, of an ancient family of Brittany, related to the Duguesslins, the Rohans, and also to the Cardinal de Retz. The good abbé probably flattered himself he had made a great step in advance of the old *mariage de convenance*, when, in preferring the marquis to his rivals, he took into consideration his youth and gay temperament as well as his birth and fortune.

Unfortunately the supposed similarity between the bride



and bridegroom proved but a shadow, and like a shadow it passed away. He had neither her brilliant nor her solid qualities. His gayety was nothing better than levity and imprudence, and his wit went no higher than jeering and punning. He was fond of expense and gallantry, and soon gave his wife very little of his company; at the same time he was good-natured and did not dislike her, and, as we catch from the tone of her early letters, she was not unhappy with him, probably because she had, even at that time, too much knowledge of the world in which she lived to have entertained any very exalted notions connected with matrimony. Two children were born within four years: first, Charles de Sévigné, in 1647, and, second, Frances, the future Countess de Grignon, that "lovely and infinitely dear child," at once the occupation, delight, and anxiety of her mother's subsequent life.

Bussy de Rabutin, who held the marquis in great contempt, as a mere laughner and jester, avows that, hearing him boast of the approbation of Ninon de l'Enclos, he had taken advantage of the braggart's folly to make the gross and insulting proposal to his wife that she should take her revenge. Bussy, who was always making love to her either in the way of flattery or banter, and had been met with constant rejection, though not perhaps treated with the severity his presumption deserved, was quite malicious enough to have invented this story against the marquis to forward his own views. If he did, he gained nothing by it. He was coldly and calmly repulsed; and a letter from him falling into her husband's hands she was prohibited from seeing him any more.

The course of the Marquis de Sévigné's follies was not a long one. He was killed in a duel only seven years after the marriage; and, in spite of his faults and failings, his sudden and sanguinary death fell heavily on his wife. Years afterwards, in speaking of her good uncle, De Coulanges, whom she heartily liked, and always called "bien bon," she says: "He extricated me from the abyss into which I was plunged at the death of Monsieur de Sévigné." As soon as he could

venture to approach her, the persevering Bussy again offered himself to her acceptance and was again refused; but not, he says, without her having shown so much pleasure in his attentions as to be jealous when they were transferred to another—an allegation for which there may possibly have been just grounds enough for his vanity and self-love to build on. She liked him, she said, because the same blood ran in their veins. She admired his wit, and had certainly always exhibited a preference for his society. And if she did manifest a feeling of mortification on some ill-bred slight from him, or pretended devotion to another, paraded with the design of annoying her, it was not on this occasion only that she showed that amiable desire, so rarely gratified, of retaining a rejected lover as a friend.\*

But it was not to listen to a new suitor that Madame de Sévigné dried her tears. She retired to the country and gave her time and attention to the education of her two young children, and to the task of repairing their almost ruined fortunes. Her good sense and natural rectitude showed her the value of that liberal and consistent economy which her uncle's early instruction had taught her to understand. She delighted in the country—in all its natural sounds and sights—and was as happy half-way up to the knee in dew, laying the lines for her new walks, as she ever was in Paris, surrounded by the most refined and brilliant wits. She had no aversion to business, and she understood how to sell or let her estates, receive her rents, and direct her workmen. It is characteristically told of her, that one day when talking of some rather important business to the President Bellièvre, she felt herself at a loss for the proper term to be used, and naively said: "Ah! monsieur, I know the air perfectly, but I forget the words."

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\* "Il n'y a guère que vous," writes Bussy, some time later, "dans le royaume, qui puissiez réduire un amant à se contenter d'amitié; nous n'en voyons presque point qui d'amant éconduit ne devienne ennemi; et je suis persuadé qu'il faut qu'une femme ait un mérite extraordinaire pour faire en sorte que le dépit d'un amant maltraité ne le porte pas à rompre avec elle."

The young widow, finding her heart fully satisfied with the affection existing between her children, her relatives, and herself, would never again hear of marriage. Most of her biographers have discussed her character in connection with this determination, some of them considering the feeling which led to it as a virtue and others as a defect. A phrenologist would allow it to be neither the one nor the other, but simply the result of a primitive tendency of the mind, dependent on the size of the brain at a particular part of the cranium. In all cases it is certainly safe to attribute a great deal to natural constitution; but as we in our turn are constituted to approve more of one class of feelings than another, without at all disputing the more perfect blessedness or happiness which may result from a complete and reciprocal union of two natures, we cannot help looking on devotion to offspring as the more generous and disinterested affection of the two. There have been instances, no doubt, of as pure self-renunciation in a husband or wife as in a parent; but it seems essentially the nature of parental love to give all and to ask for nothing in return, except the good and the happiness of the beloved object. It may seem to be anticipating a little, but see how sweetly and reasonably Madame de Sévigné in after years speaks to her daughter on the subject:

"You say you will love me both for yourself and your child. Ah! my dear child, do not undertake so much. Were it even possible for you to love me as well as I love you, which, however, is not possible, nor at all in the course of nature, yet even then my grand-daughter would have the advantage of me in your heart, and fill it with the very same tenderness that I feel for you."

Her duties to her family were not inconsistent with the enjoyment of society suitable to her youth and gay disposition. Three years after her widowhood we find her again, with undiminished beauty and spirit, taking her proper place among the most distinguished people in Paris, both at court and in the reigning literary circles of the day. In spite of her attachment to her political and religious friends, the De Retzes

and the Jansenists, who were much out of favor at court, the respect which she always cordially entertained for Louis XIV., the result of her genuine loyalty of feeling, made her present herself frequently there; and the king had too much good taste, as well as gallantry, not to bestow a gracious word or pleasant bow in acknowledgment of the courtesies of so charming a person. She was the friend and favorite of the magnanimous Duc de Rambouillet, governor to the Dauphin, of whom she said, that "he possessed every virtue, and had a sincerity and plain-speaking worthy of the knights-errant of old;" and of his wife, once the famous beauty and *bel-esprit* Mademoiselle de Rambouillet, and she constantly made one of the reunions of the celebrated Hôtel de Rambouillet, though without the taint of pedantry, which characterized so many of the members of its society.

Her letters had already gained for her a considerable reputation as a *bel-esprit*, and in those years she was still more admired for her beauty, vivacity, and agreeableness. Among her adorers of the great world were the sage Turenne; the Prince de Conti, brother to the great Condé, who writes to Bussy in warm terms of her attractions, adding, with the self-sufficient presumption of a royal lover, that "he should have a word or two to say to her next winter;" and Fouquet, the superintendent of finance, whose wealth and magnificent generosity generally secured to him the favor of all to whom his devoirs were paid. And among the witty and learned may be noted the brilliant Chevalier de Lude, whose vivacity charmed her, and with whom she always kept up a running-fire of wit and graceful gayety; the Chevalier de Mercé, once the lover as well as the tutor of Madame de Maintenon, and her good uncle's friend, the learned Abbé de Ménéage, who courted her in Italian madrigals, and whose devotion to her was so great and so well known that when he spoke in a tender tone to one of her friends—Madame de Lavardin—she laughingly told him she saw he was rehearsing for Madame de Sévigné. But to none of all their love-addresses would she

lend a favorable ear. She was ever open, gracious, friendly, and candid; and when obliged to put an end to pretensions offensive to her notions of propriety, she contrived, by the slight importance she seemed to attach to her severity, to avoid wounding the self-love of all whom she really esteemed, and, indeed, appears to have succeeded better than almost any other woman on record in the gentle art of retaining her rejected lovers as attached friends. Between her and the superintendent, Fouquet, in particular, there was a most devoted friendship, which seemed to increase on her side with his adversity. He was impeached for squandering the public money, as his predecessors had done before him; and, as his enemies were his judges, he was in danger of being guillotined. She heard of his fall with lively grief. Twelve of her earlier letters, addressed to the Marquis de Pomponne, afterwards minister of foreign affairs, give an admirable and touching description of his trial, and are expressive of the utmost zeal in his service, as well as the most genuine interest in his fate.

Her most intimate friend for many years was Madame de la Fayette, author of the "*Princesse de Cleves*," one of the most popular of the Louis Quatorze novels. This lady was also celebrated for her friendship for the Due de la Rochefoucault. His delicate health and irritable temperament required the care of a devoted friend, and her disinterested attachment to him became the occupation of her existence, and only ended with his life. She never recovered from his loss, and after his death gave herself up to pious works. She had a cold, dry manner, but, as the fastidious Rochefoucault said of her, "she was true," and Madame de Sévigné, who had warmth enough herself to dispense with it in those she esteemed, admired her genius, loved her, and pitied her sorrows. Another of her literary friends was Mademoiselle de Scudery, author of "*Cyrus Clélic*," and several other of those long-winded romances which pleased the French then, as "*Clarissa Harlowe*" and "*Sir Charles Grandison*" did the English a little later, from their minuteness and perfect truth of detail and the

passion they often exhibited. Mademoiselle de Scudery was as ugly as she was clever and agreeable. Madame de Sévigné said of her that her understanding and penetration were unlimited. In her letters she often calls her Sappho, the name by which she was known at the Hôtel de Rambouillet, where she was the admired of all admirers.

No salon or coterie, before or since, has ever exercised such authority over the world of Paris as the Hôtel de Rambouillet then did. Besides fashionable people and learned ladies, it was frequented by prelates, magistrates, and military men. But what gave it the peculiar tone, for which it was afterwards held up to ridicule, was the genius of Mademoiselle de Scudery, who both spoke and wrote in a style of high-flown pedantic gallantry which, though natural to her, and, consequently, not unbecoming, became detestable jargon in the mouths of her imitators, who could only exhibit the contortions of the sibyl without any of the inspiration. Nothing could be too inflated or ingenious to suit the taste of this society. Tropes and figures were used on the commonest subjects. The ladies called each other either by fancy names or by such affected expressions as *mon cœur*, *ma précieuse*. Mademoiselle de Rambouillet was the "incomparable Artemise" to the end of her days, and was so called by the preacher Flechier in her funeral sermon; and, in allusion to the endearing epithets so much in vogue, Molière named his comedy, written to expose the folly, "*Les Précieuses Ridicules*." Rochefoucault, at that time engaged on his book of maxims, referred to the romantic jargon when he said: "There are follies that are caught like contagious diseases." In short, bombast and affectation, mixed up with wit, was the order of the day and place; and it is curious to note that reunions so conspicuous for a want of naturalness and simplicity were held in a famous *chambre-bleu*, the favorite color, as it seems, of all *sociétés à prétention*. Although, like all the polite world of Paris, a frequenter of this formidable Hôtel de Rambouillet, the perfect good taste and good sense of Madame de Sévigné enabled her to nourish her

lively imagination with the gayety and wit—which were present there no less than the absurdity—without the faintest echo of its falsetto note.

But although she mixed freely with it, was its ornament, and the accurate observer of all that went on around her, it is not as the woman of society that Madame de Sévigné so much interests our feelings. The true idea of her, on the contrary, for the greater part of her life, is that of an affectionate domestic woman, much trusted and beloved by her friends; gay-spirited, easily amused; a constant reader, writer, talker, thinker; her master-passion, love for the daughter to whom most of the letters are addressed, in which she lays bare her sweet nature and obligingly thinks aloud for the benefit of posterity. Her good uncle's abbey was situated at Livry, near Paris. Sometimes she resided there with him, glad to be quiet and to hold sacred there some of the days set apart by her church, generally with lively feelings of devotion, though often humbly accusing herself of allowing worldly concerns, particularly those of her daughter, to intrude on her devout meditations.

Sometimes her uncle accompanied her to the estate which had belonged to her husband on the sea-coast of Brittany, called "The Rocks," where she looked after her improvements, made kind arrangements for her tenants, lived in the open air, always walking out late by moonlight, planted trees, built chapels, listened to the nightingales, and quizzed her neighbors when they were affected or ridiculous, or, above all, if they had in any way slighted or offended the beloved daughter. Occasionally she was at her own estate of Bourbilly, in Burgundy, and in her house in Paris—the Hôtel de Cornavalet, which is now a school, but will be celebrated as long as it stands as her latest and best-known abode.

The young Marquis de Sévigné was certainly not a son of whom such a mother could have been either very proud or very fond. Diminutive in his person, not particularly handsome, and of a feeble rather than an impassioned tempera-

ment, he was in his youth idle, frivolous, and dissipated ; with the ambition not uncommon to such a character of being looked on by the world around him, as above all things, the man of " wit and pleasure." Rochefoucault said of him, that his highest ambition would have been to die of a love he did not feel. But, though heartless, he was perfectly good-humored and pleasant ; was kind and attentive as a son ; as his mother, though too discerning not to be aware of the shallows as well as the shady recesses of his nature was, from her amiable disposition, at all times ready to draw out and dwell on the fair points. They lived together, therefore, on an easy, kindly footing. Along with his dutiful attention, he seems to have favored her with his confidence in the matter of his intrigues to a degree that is quite startling to our ideas of delicacy or even of decency. Indeed she herself sometimes expresses her dislike to the extreme unreserve of his communications, and appears only to have submitted to the infliction in the hope of winning him, either by her affectionate remonstrance, by raillery, or by such reasoning as he could comprehend, from the hurtful excesses of which he was so foolishly vain. There is rather an entertaining collection of letters professing to have passed between him and Ninon de l'Enclos which is said not to be genuine ; but we find plenty of curious notices of their intimacy in Madame de Sévigné's correspondence with her daughter. She particularly disliked his connection with Ninon, as having led him into the double-dyed error of a moral and religious skepticism, but with her usual sense of justice in the matter tells how Ninon had at last discarded him, " heartily tired of loving a man who had no heart," and repeats to her daughter some of her contemptuous sayings of him, such as that " he had a soul of pap," and " the heart of a cucumber fried in snow." Fortunately, for his mother's comfort as well as his own, the little marquis did not go on all his life in a course which she describes as " offensive to God and dangerous to his own soul." After a time he married a good wife, and grew sober and devout ; left the army, in which



he had never had any great preferment, and quietly cultivated a taste for literature. He maintained a contest, which was at the time much talked of, with Dacier, on the disputable meaning of the famous passage in Horace: "*difficile est proprie communia decere*," and unambitiously settled down and ended his days in one of the still nooks of Paris.

It was the daughter who was the pride and glory and crowning interest of her mother's life; whom her lively imagination exalts into a heroine, a queen, a goddess, and to whom she reveals the inmost secrets of her soul, and pours out her love and passionate admiration with an eloquence and variety of expression scarcely ever surpassed even by the devotion of a lover. Certainly never before was daughter so admired and praised, or rather so idolized and adored. Byron says finely of Petrarch, that

"Watering the tree which bears his lady's name  
With his melodious tears he gave himself to fame."

And by the simple expression of her feelings, Madame de Sévigné has most unconsciously given herself to fame in those winged, love-pointed words which often touch the imagination and fire the heart like a passionate caress.

But though we never for a moment doubt the sincerity of the mother's exalted estimate of her daughter's mind, person, and disposition, and, above all, her fervent love towards her, curiously enough the impression the daughter's character leaves on us is by no means in proportion. She seems to have had beauty, wit, and a great deal of observation; but, even in youth, very little of the geniality, the perfect *abandon*, which made her mother so charming and beloved to her dying day. She appears to have been so liberally educated that she often rather startles her less scientific mother by the novelty and boldness of her speculations. She professed to hold the opinions of Descartes, and it is supposed to be owing to some scruples of conscience in one of her more orthodox descendants that her part of the interesting correspondence was destroyed. Her mother, ambitious for her, and desirous to have

her settled near herself, married her to a wealthy nobleman, the Count de Grignon, who was attached to the court. Fortunately, however—for otherwise this famous correspondence might never have taken place—the count was also lieutenant-governor of Provence, and shortly after the marriage was ordered to that distant region. Owing to the continued absence of the Duc de Vendôme, governor-in-chief, he was kept there, with some intervals, for the rest of Madame de Sévigné's life, a period of twenty-six years; and though the mother and daughter often visited each other, more than half their days were necessarily spent apart, a period of privation to Madame de Sévigné which could not have been endured but for the daily, hourly occupation of writing to her daughter, and the still dearer delight of receiving letters from her.

With all her care and clear-sightedness, Madame de Sévigné was not over judicious in her choice of a husband for her daughter. Probably she allowed herself, according to the custom of the times, to be entirely guided by the consideration of his place and fortune. If so, she was pretty well punished, for he was still more extravagant than rich; was fond of play, and taught his wife to like it also, as we find by many allusions in her mother's letters to it as well as to visits from troublesome duns. There is the appearance of an anxiety to make the best of him, which very early betrays a consciousness on her part that he was not all she could have desired in a son-in-law. She writes to him always in a complimentary rather than affectionate strain; praises his fine voice; admires his figure—his face being remarkably plain, and constantly cries up to him his wife's perfections; the esteem in which she is held by all the world, and, in particular, the violent love she bears to himself. When she writes the following letter to him, he had just been persuaded to go down to Provence by himself, and leave his wife to be confined of her first child beside her mother:

"Confess now, that I have given you the prettiest wife in the world; and could any one be more prudent, more regular in her conduct? Could

any one love you more, have more Christian sentiments, long more ardently to be with you, or attend more strictly to the duties of her station? It may sound ridiculous in me to speak in this way of my own daughter; but I admire her as other people do, and perhaps more from being the constant eye-witness of her behavior. To tell you the perfect truth, although I have always had the best possible opinion of her in all essential respects, I never till now thought she would have been so nice and exact as she is in the more minute points."

It is true that she holds similar language to her daughter<sup>\*</sup> in reference to her son-in-law, and that the fact is much to her credit.\* Madame de Grignon gave birth to a girl, christened Marie Blanche, the same who afterward became a nun of the convent of St. Marie Aix, and died there at the age of sixty-two. Madame de Sévigné, of course, gives a lively account of the accouchement, and seems at first a little disappointed. "Helen," she says, "at first whispered me: 'Madame, it is a boy.' I told this to the coadjutor, but when we came to examine a little nearer into matters behold, it was a girl! We were somewhat disconcerted and ashamed of ourselves on reflecting that all the summer we had been, as La Fontaine says, making '*des béguins au Saint Père*,' and that after all our hopes '*la Signora mit au monde une fille*.' I assure you this has lowered our crests considerably, and nothing comforts us except that my daughter is doing so perfectly well."

Sometimes she ventures to give the count advice as to his conduct in his province; but he has first this lively notice of his lady's returning health: "You may feel quite easy about your wife's state. To be sure she has just received a piece of news which gives her much displeasure. Only a little time before she had heard that the youthful Duc de Noirmontier was going to be blind; had made thereupon many

\* "Je ne vois pas," she writes to her daughter, "un moment où vous soyez à vous: je vois un mari qui vous adore, qui ne peut se lasser d'être auprès de vous, et qui peut à peine comprendre son bonheur. Je vois des harangues, des infinités de compliments, de civilités, de visites: on vous fait des honneurs extrêmes, il faut répondre à tout cela; vous êtes accablée. Moi-même, sur ma petite boule, je n'y suffrais pas. Que fait votre paresse pendant tout ce fracas?"

moral and Christian reflections, and given full vent to all the pity such a melancholy accident seemed to call for. Suddenly they come and tell her he will see perfectly well; that the poor eyes, washed out of his head by the defluxion, have happily come back to their places as if nothing had happened." On this she asks, "What in the world she is now to do with all her fine reflections—says they have deranged her thoughts, and have very little consideration for her in telling this news before the nine days are over. We have laughed so heartily at this folly that we feared she might really be ill from it. . . I want to talk to you about M. de Marseille, to beg of you, by all the confidence you have in me, to follow my advice in your conduct respecting him. I know the manners of your Provençals, and the pleasure they take in fomenting divisions. If one is not strictly careful, one is insensibly led away by their sentiments, which are often false and unjust. I can assure you that time, or at least some cause, has made a great alteration in M. de Marseille's temper."

We shall here give the famous letter of Madame de Sévigné, addressed to her gay cousin, M. de Coulanges, on the subject of the Duke de Lauzun's intended marriage with the Princess Henrietta of Bourbon, Mademoiselle de Montpensier. It is one of the most sparkling and vivacious of the whole collection:

"I am going to tell you a thing which, of all things in the world, is the most astonishing, the most surprising, the most marvellous, the most miraculous, the most triumphant, the most bewildering, the most unheard-of, the most singular, the most extraordinary, the most incredible, the most unexpected, the most exalting, the most humbling, the most rare, the most common, the most public, the most private (till this moment), the most brilliant, the most enviable—in short, a thing of which no example is to be found in past times, at least nothing quite like it—a thing which we know not how to believe in Paris; how, then, are you to believe it at Lyons?—a thing which makes all the world cry out 'Lord have mercy on us!'—a thing which has transported Madame de Rohan and Madame d'Hauterion, a thing which is to be done on a Sunday, when those who see it will not believe their own eyes—a thing which is to be done on Sunday, and yet, perhaps, will not be finished till Monday

I cannot expect you to guess it at once. I give you a trial of three times. Do you give it up? Well, then, I must tell you. M. de Lauzun is to marry, next Sunday, at the Louvre—guess whom? I give you four times to guess it in—I give you six—I give you a hundred. ‘Truly,’ cries Madame de Coulanges, ‘it must be a very difficult thing to guess. It is Madame de la Valliere?’ ‘No, it isn’t, madame.’ ‘‘Tis Mademoiselle de Retz, then?’ ‘No, it isn’t, madame; you are terribly provincial!’ ‘Oh, we are very stupid, no doubt,’ say you; ‘‘tis Mademoiselle Colbert?’ ‘Further off than ever!’ ‘Well, then, it must be Mademoiselle de Créquin?’ ‘You are not a bit nearer.’ Come, I see I must tell you at last. Well, M. de Lauzun marries, next Sunday, at the Louvre, with the king’s permission, Mademoiselle—Mademoiselle de—Mademoiselle—guess the name; he marries Mademoiselle—the *great* Mademoiselle—Mademoiselle the daughter of the late Monsieur—Mademoiselle, granddaughter of Henry IV.—Mademoiselle d’Eu—Mademoiselle de Dombes—Mademoiselle de Montpensier—Mademoiselle d’Orleans—Mademoiselle, cousin-german of the king—Mademoiselle, destined to the throne—Mademoiselle, the only woman in France fit to marry Monsieur! Here’s pretty news for your coteries. Exclaim about it as much as you will; let it turn your heads; say we lie, if you please; ah! it’s a pretty joke, that it’s tiresome; that we are a parcel of ninnies. We give you leave; we have done just the same to others. Adieu! the letters that come by the post will show whether we have been speaking truth or not.”

Certainly never before was a piece of news told in a manner so lively, so tormenting, and yet so perfectly triumphant. The information at last conveyed was so unlooked for that even after the long and varied flourish of trumpets by which it was heralded it must have taken the readers by surprise. Alas, for the subjects of the wonder! the royal leave, at one time graciously given, was remorselessly recalled; but we must allow Madame de Sévigné to finish the narrative:

“A terrible falling from the clouds occurred last night at the Tuileries; but I must go a little further back. You have already shared in the joy, the transport, the ecstasies of the princess and her happy lover. It was just as I told you—the affair was made public on Monday. Tuesday was passed in telling, astonishment, and compliments. On Wednesday, Mademoiselle made a deed of gift to M. de Lauzun, investing him with certain titles, names, and dignities necessary to be inserted in the marriage-contract which was drawn up that day. She gave him these till she could give him something better, four duchies: the first was that of the Count d’Eu, which entitles him to rank as first peer of France;

the dukedom of Montpensier, which title he bore all that day; the dukedom de St. Fargeau, and the dukedom de Châtelherault—the whole valued at 22,000,000 livres. The contract was then drawn up, and he assumed the name of Montpensier. All Thursday morning, which was yesterday, Mademoiselle was in expectation of the king's signing the contract, as he had promised; but by seven o'clock in the evening the queen, monsieur, and several old dotards that were about him had so persuaded his majesty that his reputation would suffer in this affair that, sending for Mademoiselle and M. de Lauzun, he announced to them, before the prince, that they must think no further of this marriage. M. de Lauzun received the prohibition with all the respect, submission, and, at the same time, despair that could be expected in so great a reverse of fortune. As for poor Mademoiselle, she gave way to her feelings and burst into tears, lamentations, and the most violent expressions of grief. She keeps her bed all day long, and will take nothing within her lips except a little soup. Isn't it like a dream? What a glorious subject for a tragedy or a romance, but especially for telling and reasoning on eternally! and this is what we do day and night, morning and evening, without end or intermission."

Life at the "Rocks" is very pleasantly passed. To be sure the thought of the daughter's absence often brings tears to the mother's eyes, and makes her heart heavy; or if a letter should happen to be lost, or not arrive at the moment expected, she is apt to "cook," or "make dragons," that is, to fret and fancy all manner of evil. But, in general, they are all very merry, and in their several ways admirably amused. The good abbé transacts business or lounges in his comfortable chair, and is fed with moral dainties. Sometimes they sit out of doors watching the peasants dancing; sometimes they play at chess or read aloud. Visitors often drop in, and then madame takes to her embroidery. "When I have company I work at that fine altar-piece you saw me drawing when you were at Paris; when I am alone I read, I write, or am with the abbé in his closet on business." The young marquis, who inherits more of his mother's taste for polite literature than the philosophical daughter, "is always reading us some trifle or another, comedies, which he repeats like Molière himself, verses, romances, histories—he is a very entertaining companion, has wit and a good understanding,

and has contrived to allure us from reading on serious subjects, as we at first intended. When he leaves us we shall again begin some of Nicole's moral pieces." Nicole is the first favorite; he is touching, searching, and always charming. His treatise on universal peace is divine, and appears to have been written purposely for her edification. But she has many other favorite books and authors; Ariosto, Tasso, Pascal, Bourdaloue, and Boussuet, La Fontaine, Tacitus, Montaigne, Don Quixote, and St. Augustin, besides the novels of Calprenede, Scudery, and her friend Madame de la Fayette, many of which she reads three times over, and cannot help praising to her daughter, though rather in an apologetic tone, and with the consciousness of not being sympathized with.

Though some of her country neighbors are by no means charming, they are always made welcome, and they all give occasion to lively description and amusing gossip. There is a certain stupid M. de Plessis, with a complaint in his feet, which a wonderful man undertakes to cure by the very odd treatment of tearing out the nails of his two great-toes by the roots, in order to prevent the evil from returning; his wife, Madame de Plessis, who tells exaggerated stories; and their daughter,—silly, affected, and presumptuous,—who seems to have been slapped in the face and laughed at by Madame de Grignon in her childhood, and is still disliked by her; and Madame de Sévigné, who is seldom ill-natured except to please her daughter, likes to indulge her by ludicrous pictures of the young lady's airs and impertinences. There is a certain M. de Hacheville, who is always doing something obliging; a M. la Mousse, who is sometimes a little low spirited, but who reads aloud delightfully, with whom she studies the Italian poets, and occasionally talks theology; and a very extraordinary M. de Pomenars, who has constantly some action or another of a criminal nature pending against him, but who is not the less facetious or amusing on that account.

Everybody knows the story of Vatal, steward to the Prince de Condé, who killed himself out of a point of honor. It oc-

curred at a splendid entertainment given to the king and court by the prince at Chantilly, when the jonquils alone cost the prince 100,000 francs.

The life of Madame de Sévigné in Paris is, in its way, very agreeable. Even there she contrives to have the pleasures of a garden in which she can walk in the morning and enjoy the bursting of the first spring blossoms. She is constantly dining and supping with Rochefoucault, the De Coulanges, and Madame de Lavardin; or she is receiving visitors at home, who come sometimes to little dinners, "good and delicate;" at others, to supper, and a great deal of pleasant chat. She goes often to court, or she is sent for by mademoiselle, "when in comes monsieur, and begins to talk about her daughter." Sometimes she goes to the theatre, or Corneille reads a play at M. de la Rochefoucault's, full of enchanting passages, which make her "shed twenty tears in a minute;" and she always goes regularly to church. We have many curious characteristic traits of her town associates; of a certain very absent Brancos, who, when he was overturned in a ditch, asked those who came to help him out whether they had any occasion for his services; of the Cardinal de Retz, contentedly feeding his trout in his retirement; of Racine, teaching the actress Champmélé, with whom he is in love, and who has no genius, to repeat his verses so admirably, that Madame de Sévigné predicts of him that he is writing for Champmélé, not for posterity, and will only write finely while young and in love; of the painter's widow, Madame de Scarron, afterwards Maintenon ("the Pamela of royalty"), who reasons with an engaging wit and surprisingly clear understanding on the horrid confusion and vexations of a court, at which she was so soon to play the most conspicuous part. In short, there is no end to the amusing sketches she gives her daughter of the court, the church, and the country, or to her own pleasant reflections on everything that occurs.

But all her time is not spent happily, nor with the gay and witty. She has no desire to spare herself or to shrink from



any occupation suggested either by duty or affection. We find her devoting herself to the task of nursing her aunt, who is dying of a painful and lingering disease.

In our limited space we cannot attempt to give an account of her frequent changes of abode, or of the notable public events of history, to all of which she alludes, and into many of which she enters fully and discusses them with the sense and spirit of an observant and deeply interested eye-witness. In war times, and particularly when her son was with the army, she suffered great anxiety. In the summer of 1672 was the famous passage of the Rhine, and nothing can be more graphic than many of her notices. There Rochefoucault had one son wounded and another killed. The gentleness and patient *silence* with which the caustic philosopher bore his bereavement are well contrasted with the violent and eloquent grief of the poor Princess de Longueville, who lost her son in the same engagement.

The chief part of the correspondence of Madame de Sévigné is addressed to her daughter; but when living with her at Grignon, or when the daughter comes to her, still the nimble pen is never at rest. Constant letters then pass between her and Madame de la Fayette, Madame de Coulanges, or any other of her friends who may happen to be at a distance, so that in all these years we are pleasantly kept *au courant* of the best Parisian news and gossip. With her keen and ardent feelings she has always plenty of anxiety to undergo, often frets unreasonably at supposed ills that may have befallen the idolized daughter; even occasionally, though in a good-humored way, she ventures to arraign Providence for "cross-accidents," or for having decreed that they should live at a distance from each other, and says: "one must be mad to continue to love life," while loving it heartily all the time. But whether things are going well or ill with her, and whether at Paris, Livry, Brittany, or Provence, she has the same admirable animal spirits, the same clear, lively mind and social heart; is the delight and pride of her friends; ever deeply

interested in all that concerns them, and equally ready to weep or rejoice with them with all the energy of her healthy, vigorous, and affectionate nature.

Some of Madame de Sévigné's most charming letters were written in 1689, when she was in her sixty-third year. Seven years afterward, and without experiencing any great increase of the natural infirmities to which she seems here to look forward to with considerable dread, she caught malignant small-pox—that terrible scourge of mankind in those times—and died at her daughter's house, the Château de Grignon, in 1696, at the age of seventy, surrounded by her descendants and tenderly waited on and nursed by Mademoiselle de Marseillae, the daughter of Rochefoucault.

The beloved Madame de Grignon only survived her nine years. She is said to have died of a broken heart soon after the death of her only son, a handsome, brave, young officer, who is spoken of by his grandmother as "caring little for his books, but not on that account the less kissed and caressed," whose destiny, she says, it is to be perfectly loved, and whom, rather to our surprise, we find studying good-breeding at the feet of Ninon de l'Enclos—a very doubtful advantage, which was thus enjoyed by no fewer than three generations of Madame de Sévigné's family—her husband, son, and grandson.

Besides Blanche Ademar, whose childhood was sweetly passed with the loving grandmother, and who, as we before mentioned, became a nun, Madame de Grignon left only one child, that charming Pauline, of whom we hear so much that is interesting and pleasant in the latter years of Madame de Sévigné. She had something of her grandmother's looks and bright wit, but was more like her mother in gravity of disposition. She married Louis de Iméciane, Marquis de Esparron, who was in some way connected with the English family of the Hays, and some of the descendants of this marriage are still living, though we have long lost the dear names of Rabutin, Sévigné, and Grignon.

We rather agree with the Abbé Vauxelle, in having no

great liking for "*la plus jolie fille de France*," Madame de Grignon. All honor to her beauty, wit, and surpassing talents; but the philosophic coldness with which she occasionally answers her mother's over-anxious affection jars painfully on our feelings. No doubt the mother's love was somewhat sinful and inordinate; she herself knew it; often felt compunction for the excess; prayed to be forgiven for her idolatry, and finding herself too weak to sacrifice it was at least humble in the indulgence. But the daughter's haughty Cartesianism and numerous and bitter dislikes rather revolt us; and we cannot forget that her mother's pen is never dipped in gall except for her gratification. Madame de Sévigné is thoroughly "sweet-blooded;" even when she best ridicules Mademoiselle de Plexis, and most reviles Madame de Marans, we feel that she is only ill-natured out of good-nature, and that there is not a spark of malice in her heart. There was too much of love and of natural piety there to leave room for hatred. "For my sake," she says to her daughter on one occasion, "don't let us take the burden of a hatred upon our shoulders; 'tis a weary load." And so it would have been to her, but the daughter's less healthy nature required the bitter stimulant, and the tender mother was too indulgent always to withhold it.

There are many opinions among Madame de Sévigné's greatest admirers as to what constituted the main secret of her nearly unrivalled attraction. One places it in her perfect womanliness; another in her *abandon*; another in the largeness of her faculties, in her having "carried to the highest perfection all the ordinary talents proper to her sex," and yet another in the unconscious art with which she communicates her own ease, wit, and natural grace to those with whom she converses—a miraculous gift indeed, and one which, to use her own words, "ought one day to gain her a statue." A recent writer thinks that her great charm lay in her natural virtue; and certainly nobody so impulsive was ever so often in the right, for in her the clear intellect as constantly and intuitively

directed the heart as the heart the intellect, and from such union and perfect accord must ever come the finest moral harmonies. And Leigh Hunt, last and best, pronounces it to lie in her truth; finely adding: "Truth, wit, and animal spirits compose the secret of her delightfulness; but truth, above all, for it is that which shows all the rest to be true." But in whichever of these directions lay the cause, there is no doubt as to the effect—that she does charm us—that we heartily love her; better, perhaps, than her wit, better than her good sense, vivacity, and fine taste—better even than her virtue; and since it is so difficult to decide on what it is that so pleases and draws us to her we must even be content to conclude, like the lover in the old song, that

"'Tis Cynthia altogether."

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- ART. III.—1. *A Manual of Scandinavian Mythology, containing a Popular Account of the Two Eddas and of the Religion of Odin.* By GRENVILLE PIGOTT. London. 1839.
2. *Isländische Volks—Sagen der Gegenwart.* VON K. MAURER. Leipzig. 1860.
3. *Specimen Litteraturæ Islandicæ.* R. KR. RASK. Copenhagen. 1819.
4. *Northern Antiquities; or, an Historical Account of the Manners, Customs, Religion, and Laws, Maritime Expeditions and Discoveries, Language and Literature of the Ancient Scandinavians.* Translated from the French of M. MALLET by Bishop PERCY. London. 1847.
5. *Histoire de la Poesie Scandinave.* Par A. M. C. DUMERIL. Paris.
6. *Poèmes Islandais.* Par F. G. BERGMANN. Paris.

TRACING backwards the stream of our literature and endeavoring to discover its sources, we find ourselves sometimes confronted by strange and unexpected scenes. The Saxon or

Teutonic branch of it takes us among the geysers and icebergs, and volcanoes of Iceland, where we are overwhelmed with the grandeur of our surroundings. In this direction, indeed, we cannot plainly follow the literary current any further, and we are content that it should have come to us from so sublime a fountain.

Iceland is a country whose chilling name and position create an impression not justified by its geology or geography, its history or its literature. It illustrates one of Mr. Buckle's theories regarding the influence of striking natural scenery upon the production of works of genius. An isolated country, by some it is believed to have been the *Ultima Thule* of the ancients,\* while others claim that it was entirely uninhabited, or at least wholly unknown until within the period of modern history. The peculiarities of its geographical position, climate, physical structure, settlement, and history render it a unique land and of great interest; while its extraordinary rich literature affords a very profitable study. The physical features of that remarkable island are thus graphically described by a traveller:

"In no quarter of the globe do we find crowded within the same extent of surface such a number of ignivomous mountains, so many boiling springs, or such immense tracts of lava as here arrest the attention of the traveller. The general aspect of the country is the most rugged and dreary imaginable. On every side appear marks of confusion and devastation, or the tremendous sources of those evils in the yawning craters of huge and menacing volcanoes. Nor is the mind of the spectator relieved from the disagreeable emotions arising from reflection on the subterraneous fires which are raging beneath him, by a temporary survey of the huge mountains of perpetual ice by which he is surrounded. These very masses, which naturally exclude the most distant ideas of heat, contain in their bosom the fuel of conflagration, and are frequently seen to emit smoke and flames, and pour down upon the plains immense floods of boiling mud and water or red-hot torrents of devouring lava. \* \* \* Numerous ridges of rugged and irregular mountains stretch across the interior, and from these other inferior mountains branch out toward the coast, and in many instances terminate in high and steep promonto-

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\* Vide Strabo, l. iv.

ries. Between these ridges, in the vicinity of the coast, are rich and beautiful valleys, in which the inhabitants have erected their dwellings; and many of the low mountains are covered with coarse grass, which afford summer pasturage to the cattle." \*

This weird country seems to belong to neither the eastern nor the western hemisphere, though it is generally claimed as European. Its greatest length is three hundred and twenty-five miles, its greatest breadth two hundred miles. It is distant from the Shetland Islands, Scotland, five hundred miles; from Norway about six hundred and fifty miles, and from the Færoe Islands two hundred and fifty miles.

The history of this island is as remarkable as its external appearance. It is said by the learned monk, Dicuil, to have been inhabited prior to the sixth century by the Irish, and a proof of this was furnished by certain religious works, in the Irish language, found by the Norwegians on their first settlement in the island.† The first European visitor to Iceland of whom we have an authentic account was Naddod, a sea-rover or pirate, who was driven to that coast by storms about the year 860. He gave it the name of "Snoeland," and his report induced Gardar Snaversen, a Swede, to make a voyage thither. The next visitor was Floki, who gave the island its present name. It is related that this voyager took with him three ravens, and when he supposed that he was near the island he loosed one of them, which flew back towards Norway. After a time a second one was freed which, after flying about, returned to the vessel. When the third was set at liberty it flew away to the sought-for land.‡ The first permanent settlement of Iceland was in 874, when Ingolf led thither a colony, including many noble Norwegian families who wished to escape from the tyranny of Harold Hårfagra, the bright-haired, whose ambition and aggressions were intolerable to those who regarded themselves

\* Henderson's *Iceland*; or, *the Journal of a Resident in that island during the years 1864 and 1865*. Edinburgh.

† *Recherches sur le liere De Mensura Orbis Terræ*. Par Betram. Paris. 1814.

‡ *Scripta Historica Islandorum*. Copenhagen.

as his equals. Ingolf it is said, took with him the columns of his temple, and on approaching the shore threw them into the sea, designing to take up his new abode upon that portion of the coast where they should land. They were not discovered, however, until three years later, when Ingolf, who had settled in another place, immediately removed to the spot which he believed to be divinely indicated as the site of his abode. This is said to be the identical spot where Reikjavik, the capital of Iceland, now stands \*

Numbers of Norwegians, many of them of the noblest families, followed, and the island increased rapidly in population. The coast was first settled, the interior being generally uninhabitable. The expeditions were usually fitted out by the pontiff-chieftains; they, more than other nobles, being able to incur the necessary expense. Previous to setting out a *Clotveitsla*, or sacrificial banquet, was commonly held, and other ceremonies, such as throwing the sacred columns into the sea on approaching land, were observed † To signify that a settler had appropriated a portion of the land, he lighted fires around it, which was also intended as a consecration of the soil to the tutelar deities.‡ It was after a time judged sufficient to shoot a blazing arrow over the land which one wished to claim. This sort of pre-emption naturally gave rise to abuses from the greediness of chieftains who wished to take possession of more than others thought their due. It was at length ruled that no one should occupy more land than he and his followers were able to enclose and dedicate by fires kept burning from sunrise to sunset.§ In the case of women a different rule seems, at least, in some cases, to have prevailed. Thorgerda, the widow of Asbjörn, who had died on the voyage, was permitted to take possession of so much land as she could drive a two-year old cow or bull round from sunrise to sunset

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□ Hallet's *Northern Antiquities*, p. 188.

† Blackwell's *Supplementary Chapters to Hallet's Northern Antiquities*.

‡ *Ibid*, p. 287.

§ *Landnámabók*, iii. 7.

on a summer's day.\* Immigrants, who arrived after the land was all appropriated according to the prevailing squatter sovereignty, could obtain a portion either by purchase or wager of battle. The latter was generally preferred by the rude warriors, as the territory so obtained was believed to be ceded by the god Thor himself, who gave the victory and the real estate title to his favorite, though the deity was doubtless generally found on the side of the weightiest battle-axe. A chieftain sometimes proposed to another to exchange lands with him, giving him the alternative, in case of refusal, of the *holm-gang* or wager of battle.† The chiefs apportioned their lands among their followers, exacting a sort of feudal obedience and service.

The government adopted by these colonists was a kind of aristocratic republicanism, the nobles keeping the power in their own hands. A code of laws was at length compiled by Ulfjot, who established a legislative body called the *Althing*, which first met in 930, when Ulfjot was chosen *lögsgumadr* or supreme judge. For nearly two centuries these laws were handed down by oral tradition, but were committed to writing in 1117, and soon after digested and codified. This collection is called *Frágás*, a word signifying grey goose, and the application of the term is variously explained as from grey goose quill, employed in writing, the grey goose skin in which they were bound, and the popular belief that the grey goose lived for ages.

This commonwealth endured until 1264, when Iceland became subject to Norway. A condition of anarchy existed during the greater portion of the time, which did not prevent the cultivation of literature to an extent and with an excellence which excite our wonder and admiration. "Separated from the rest of the world," says Prof. Müller, "by the Northern Ocean, the Icelanders must, upon the whole, have been prevented from taking a part in two great events of history. The island itself, which has little else to offer than fire and

\* *Landnamabok*, iv., 10.

† Blackwell, *op. cit.*



ice, would appear to other nations to be of importance only as a place of banishment. But this island possessed in the ninth and tenth centuries two inestimable treasures—civil liberty and security. The boldest Northmen were thus induced to seek refuge there, and for four hundred years it flourished as a free state. Its history, in fact, during this period, may in so far be said to present the image of a perfect commonwealth, that the island was never subject to attacks from without, but everything, both the good—the deep-rooted constitution—and the evil—which at length laid it waste—sprung up within its own limits.\*

The skalds, as the Scandinavian poets were called, seem to have possessed a consideration scarcely granted to the order among any other people, or in any country, not excepting Provence in the palmy days of southern minstrelsy. The skalds were regarded as officers of state, and quite indispensable to any well-appointed court. Kings were always accompanied by their poets upon their journeys and campaigns. Harold Hårfagra gave them places at his feasts above all other officers. They were often entrusted with the most important commissions in peace and war. They accompanied the princes or jarls, to whose suits they were attached in war, and shared often in the danger and the glory of the battle-field, which they were to sing for the benefit of those who were not spectators of the conflict in their own and after times. They were the army correspondents and historians of their era.

Hakon, earl of Norway, in the battle when the warriors of Jomsburg were defeated, had with him five skalds, who sang their odes to animate the soldiers before the battle. They were not permitted to depend upon their imaginations for the substance of their recitals, hence the custom of bringing them upon the field, a hint by which many of our modern war-chroniclers might profit. Olaf, king of Norway, on going into battle, placed three of his skalds about him, crying out,

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\* Introduction to *Sagabibliothek*.

"You shall not relate what you have only heard, but what you are eye-witnesses of yourselves."\* It is related in one of the old sagas that, on this occasion, the skald Thormod "sang the ancient Biarkemal in so loud a voice that all the army heard it," and during the battle he was killed by an arrow, dying with the song upon his lips.† To be praised by the skalds for heroic deeds, to be immortalized in their verse, was so desirable that princes and warriors willingly exposed their lives in battle.

The skalds were rewarded for their songs by rich presents, and often obtained pardon for crimes by pleasing verses. The poet Egill purchased his pardon for a mortal offence from the king of Norway by singing an extemporary ode, which yet remains and is called "The Ransom of Egill."‡ They were not, it is probable, always permitted entire freedom of expression, the power of princes sometimes compelling them to sing from other than spontaneous inspiration.

Kings, princes, and nobles, and some women, were fain to enrol themselves among the skalds and to cultivate the art of verse. Of all the northern nations the Icelanders have produced by far the greatest number of poets. An old manuscript contains a list of those who had distinguished themselves in three northern kingdoms from the reign of Ragnor Lodbrok to that of Valdemar II. Of two hundred and thirty, comprised in the record, including more than one sovereign, the greater number were natives of Iceland.§ To this island we are indebted for almost all the historical monuments of the northern nations now existing.

It is not merely as warriors and courtiers that we are to consider the skalds. They were family chroniclers before they became national ones. Pride of family was extreme with the Scandinavians, and among the earliest essays of the bards would naturally be the celebration of the deeds of their ances-

\* Mallet's *Northern Antiquities*, p. 236.

† Müller, *Sagabibliothek* I., vol. i., p. 57.

‡ Torf, H. N., t. ii.

§ *Skaldatal*, in *Appendix, ad Lit. Run.*, Olaf Wormt.

tors. Those of noble descent would preserve the memory of their Norwegian progenitors, while the lapse of time, and their distance from the homes of their fathers, threw over the events of the past in which they were interested a poetic charm. The entire household generally dwelt in the long hall of the Icelandic habitation, and, during the winter evenings, he among them who had acquired the art of versification would entertain the others with a recitation of his lays, in which were celebrated the praises of their common ancestors. There would sometimes be visitors, and perhaps poets of different families would meet and vie with and stimulate each other in recounting the heroic deeds of their respective progenitors, each striving to make his own appear to the best advantage. The Icelanders have three annual religious festivals which, with the public games, afford excellent opportunities for social intercourse and mental attrition. "We may, therefore," says Professor Müller,\* "often acquire from these numerous narratives, that lead us, as it were, into the domestic circle of the old Icclander, and offer the minutest details respecting the civil institutions of the country, a more intimate knowledge of northern heathenism than could be obtained from the traditions of the period itself." The skalds often interlarded their ordinary discourse with verse, and some of them could not well express themselves in prose. Thus it is related of Sívord, that when he spoke in prose his tongue seemed embarrassed, but that he expressed himself in verse with fluency and ease.†

It was not until after the introduction of christianity, which was publicly embraced in the year 1000, that letters were used for records in Iceland. Their poems, historical and otherwise, were, previous to that period, committed to memory and recited, and thus handed down from one generation to another. While heathens they were the original annalists in the North. As christians they were the first to collect historical details and old poems, and to digest chronicles and traditions of pagan

\* Introduction to *Sagabibliothek*.

† Mallet's *Northern Antiquities*.

theology.\* As historians the Icelandic sagamen have been of the greatest value to us, as, but for them, we should know little of the northern nations in periods which have had an important bearing upon our own. The manners and customs as well as the mythology and traditions of the Icelandic colonists were those of all Scandinavian nations, but, from the peculiar geographical position and political constitution of this island, these institutions were there retained in their primitive state long after they were changed, abolished, or forgotten in other northern countries. The old Norse language, too, flourished in Iceland long after it had been modified in other countries, and the literature thus possesses a continuity which is scarcely illustrated elsewhere during so lengthy a period. The statements of one saga are frequently found to be corroborated by those of another, and modern Danish scholars, who have subjected them to severe critical examination, pronounce over one hundred of them fully entitled to the claim of historical authenticity.†

The old Norse language, *Norrœna Tunga*, or *Dœnsk Tunga*, has in modern times been named the Icelandic, because there it has been preserved almost in its primitive condition. Its alphabet was called the Runic and the letters runes, of which specimens are preserved in inscriptions upon ancient stones, rings, and wooden tablets. It belongs to the Teutonic family of languages, and from it are derived the modern Icelandic, or *Islenska*, and the Danish, Swedish, and Norwegian dialects. From the labors of scholars of the Scandinavian countries, and of Germany, France, and Great Britain, we have abundant materials for the study of the old Norse tongue and its wealthy literature.

The most marked characteristic of Icelandic versification was alliteration, which had fixed rules and principles. It is quite as artificial as modern rhyme, and we should judge sometimes more difficult. The most ancient Norse poems have

\* Mallet's *Northern Antiquities*.

† Blackwell's sup. chap. to Mallet's *Northern Antiquities*, p. 311.

alliteration only, though at an early period line-rhyme was introduced, and, later, final-rhyme was added, thus making a very complicated and difficult structure of verse. Consonant, or perfect line-rhyme required that two syllables in the same line should have the vowels and the consonants immediately following them alike; as *sum-ir* and *gum-ar*, *merk-i* and *sterk-a*. In assonant or demi-line rhyme, the vowels differed, but were followed by the same consonants; as, *stírd-un* and *nord un*. Both were used in the same couplet, the assonant for the first and the consonant for the second line. Final rhyme was the same as in modern versification.\*

The skalds had upwards of one hundred different kinds of verse, which Professor Rask classes as *narrative*, *heroic*, and *popular*. Narrative verse, the oldest, has only alliteration. This is the verse of the Eddaic poems. Heroic verse, which was used after the ninth century, has alliteration and line-rhyme. Popular verse has alliteration and final-rhyme without line-rhyme. Mr. Blackwell gives us a specimen of a translation of heroic verse with the metre and alliterative letters of the original.†

It is a portion of the Death Song of Ragnar Lodbrok, a Danish king, of whom it is recorded that, on one of his predatory expeditions, he was taken prisoner by a Northumbrian prince and thrown into prison, where he was stung to death by vipers. The song is alleged to have been composed by him during his torments. The first strophe refers to his expedition to Gothland to deliver Thora, the daughter of a chieftain detained in captivity by an enormous serpent, and destined as the prize of the champion by whom she should be delivered:

"Hew'd me with the Hanger!  
Hard upon the time 'twas,  
when in Gothlanda Going  
to Give death to the serpent;  
T Hen obtained we T Horra,  
T Hence have warriors called me

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\* Vide Rask's *Anglo-Saxon Grammar and Icelandic Prosody*.

† Sup. Chap. to Hallet's *N. A.*

the Linz-eel since I laid low  
 Lodbrok ; at that carnage  
 S Tuck I the S Tealthy monster  
 with S Teel of the finest temper."

Professor Rask notes the striking resemblance between the Icelandic narrative verse and the classic hexameter. He arranges Greek and Latin hexameters chosen at random according to the rules of narrative verse, as in the following from the *Æneid* :

" Arma virumque	Vi superûm
cano, Trojæ.	sæve memorem
qui primus ab oris	Junonis ob iram,
Italiam,	Multa quoque
fato profugus,	et bello passus,
Lavinæque venit	dum conderet urbem,
Litora que : multum	Inferretque
ille et terris	deos Latio,
jactatus et alto,	genus unde Latinum."

"This decomposition," says Professor Rask,\* "produces neither Rindaric nor Adonic verse, but the Teutonic narrative verse so completely, that in these eighteen verses of Virgil there is not a single deviation from or fault against the rules of narrative verse, but the whole reads just as fluently when arranged according to the Icelandic metre as according to the laws of hexameter."

The style of the Scandinavian verse is wild, simple, and strong; "grand but tumid; sublime but obscure."† The paucity of their language, and the fact that they had little learning, and few models, compelled them to use metaphors borrowed from nature. The natural features of their country inspired their imaginations and furnished materials for the grandest imagery. Their mythology and their historic traditions, which supplied themes for their songs, were of a rude, wonderful, and gigantic character :

" Wild the Runic faith,  
 And wild the realms where Scandinavian chiefs  
 And skalds arose, and hence the skalds' strong verse  
 Partook the savage wildness."‡

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\* *Anglo-Saxon Grammar*, p. 154.

† Hallet.

‡ Southey.

The most important of the Icelandic poems are the Edda, a word of doubtful signification, but probably meaning *ancestress*. There are two works bearing this title, one in verse and one in prose. The elder or poetic Edda is also called Saemund's Edda, from Saemund Sigfusson, surnamed the learned, who was born in 1057 and died in 1131. He is believed to have been merely the collector of these poems, though the authorship of one of them, the *Solar Ljod*, is attributed to him. The poetic Edda consists of thirty-nine poems. The oldest and most interesting is the *Voluspa*, or *Song of the Prophetess*. It contains the whole system of Scandinavian mythology, the origin of gods and men, of evil and death, and concludes with a prediction of the destruction and final renovation of the earth and a description of the abode of the blessed and the condemned. *Vala*, or prophetess, from a high seat, discourses to the assembled deities :

" Listen to my tale,  
Ye holy beings,  
High and low,  
Of the race of Heimdall!  
I will narrate the deeds  
Of the sire of the slain,  
With old traditions,—  
The oldest I remember.

" It was the morn of time  
When nothing was,  
Nor land nor sea,  
Nor cold billows;  
Nowhere could earth be found,  
Nor the high heaven;  
There was a boundless gulph  
Without anything that groweth.

" I bring to mind the giants  
Born betimes,  
They who of yore  
Fostered my childhood.  
I can tell of nine worlds  
And of nine heavens;  
Of the lordly central tree  
Beneath the earth.

" Until the sons of Bor  
Gave life to the clay,  
They who constructed  
The lordly Uidgard.  
Soel from the south  
Shone on its walls,  
When earth was decked  
With verdant plants."

The *Vafthrúdnismal* (*mal*, a song or discourse) is also a mythologic poem in the form of a dramatic dialogue between Odin and the great *Vafthrúdni*. It opens with a dialogue between Odin and his wife *Frizza*. The god proposes to make—

" A journey to *Vafthrúdni*'s hall,  
With the wise and crafty *Jute*,  
To contend in Runic lore."

Frizza endeavors to dissuade him, but Odin proceeds, and, on reaching the hall of the giant, represents himself to be a mortal monarch named Gangrad. He seats himself at the feet of the *Vafthrúdni*, and the two agree that the one who fails to answer a question of the other shall forfeit his life. They accordingly discuss the Scandinavian mythology. Odin answers so well that he is invited to a seat beside the giant, of whom he asks questions in turn. This is Odin's final question :

" Lastly, monarch, I inquire,  
What did Odin's lips pronounce  
To his Baldur's hearkening ear  
As he climbed the pyre of death?"

From this, *Vafthrúdni* learns with whom he is dealing, acknowledges his defeat, and accepts his doom in accordance with the agreement :

" Not the man of mortal race  
Knows the words which thou hast spoken  
To thy son in days of yore ;  
I hear the coming tread of death !  
He soon shall raze the Runic lore,  
And knowledge of the rise of gods,  
From his ill-fated soul who strove  
With Odin's self the strife of wit,  
Wise of the wise that breathe,  
Our stake was life, and thou hast won."

The *Grimnis-mal* gives descriptions of the twelve habitations of the twelve celestial deities. The *Rigs-mal* contains an allegorical account of several Scandinavian castes. In the *Havamal*, or sublime discourse of Odin, the god gives to men a code of moral precepts. We select a few of these from the prose translation of Bishop Percy :

" He who travelleth hath need of wisdom. One may do at home whatsoever he will ; but he who is ignorant of good manners will only draw contempt upon himself when he comes to sit down with men well instructed."

" No one ought to laugh at another until he is free from faults himself."

" Whilst we live, let us live well ; for be a man never so rich, when he lights his fire death may, perhaps, enter his door before it be burnt out."



"Praise the fineness of the day when it is ended ; praise a woman when she is buried ; a sword, when you have proved it ; a maiden, after she is married ; the ice, when once you have crossed it ; and the liquor, after it is drunk."

The deity is certainly severe on womankind, as he permits the maiden no praise until she is married, and then it is to be postponed until her burial. There are six mythological poems which relate the visit of Odin to the realms of Hela, or death, to learn the fate of Baldur ; the story of Frey and Gerda ; a dialogue between Thor and Harbard, a ferryman, who refuses to convey him across the frith ; the recovery of Thor's wallet, etc. There are a number of heroic poems, also mythical, one of them being very similar to the *Nibelungen lied*.

The prose Edda is supposed to be the work of Snorri Sturlason, born in 1178, descended from a distinguished Icelandic family, who led a turbulent and reckless life, was twice the chief magistrate of the republic, and met a violent death in 1241. He probably used the manuscripts of Saemund and Ari, adding merely a few chapters of his own composition. The prologue and epilogue are believed to be his. This work consists of the *Formali*, fore-discourse or prologue ; the *Gylfaginning*, or deluging of Gylfi ; *Bragarædur*, conversations of Bragi, and *Eptirmáli*, after-discourse, or epilogue. The *Skald*, a sort of *Art Poetica*, usually attached to the prose Edda, is believed to have been the work of Slaf Thorsdon, a nephew of Snorri Sturlason, and one of the latest and most celebrated of the skalds.

The prose Edda also contains a complete *résumé* of the Scandinavian cosmogony and mythology, the details being collected from the songs of the poetic Edda, copious extracts from which are given. An outline account of this weird faith is necessary to any understanding of Icelandic literature. In the beginning, we are told, there was nothing but a vast abyss, called *ginnungagap*, or chaotic pit, which was wholly void. One side, *niflheim*, faced the north, and was very cold ; the other, *unspel*, facing the south, was very warm. From the northern side rose

a spring, hvergelmir, which existed before anything else was created. It was full of poisons, and its waters flowed through twelve great rivers into the abyss. The largest of these rivers was Elivagar, cold, stormy waters, whose current grew weaker the farther from its source until it reached the centre, where it became ice, which accumulated until the whole abyss was filled with it. In time the heat from the south began to thaw the ice on that side, until by degrees the whole was melted. The giant Ymir, the evil principle, was produced and fell into a deep sleep, when a man and woman sprang from his left arm, and his feet produced a son. From these were descended Hrimthursar, or giants of the frost. The cow, Andhumla, was created, and from her udders flowed four streams of milk by which Ymir was nourished. The cow supported herself by licking stones covered with salt and hoar-frost. From these stones there sprang the first day, towards evening, the hairs of a man's head; the second evening a head appeared, and the third an entire man, who was endowed with beauty, agility, and power. He was called Bur, and was the father of Bor, who took for wife Besla, the daughter of the giant Bolhern. From this union sprang three sons, Odin, Vili, and Ve.\*

These three, shortly after their birth, slew Ymir, whose blood drowned the whole of the frost-giants except Bergelmir, the old man of the mountain, who escaped with his wife in a boat and perpetuated the race. Bor's sons took the body of Ymir and set it in the midst of the gulf Ginnungagap. Of his flesh they formed the earth, of his blood seas and other waters, mountains of his bones, rocks of his teeth, and all kinds of plants of his hair. Of his skull they formed the heavens, and set at the four corners to support it four dwarfs, who were named East, West, North, and South. They took fires from Unspelheim, and fixed them in heaven to give light to the earth. Ymir's brains were thrown into the air and formed clouds; of his eyebrows they made Midgard, or the earth.

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\* *Prose Edda*, chap. 6.

Bör's sons went to the sea-shore, where they found two stems of wood of which they made a man, Ask, and a woman, Embla. Odin endowed them with spirit and life, Vili reason and the power of motion, and Ve, form, speech, hearing, and sight. "There are," says the prose Edda,\* "twelve gods to whom divine honors ought to be rendered." The first was Odin, called *Alfadir*, all father, and also *Valfadir*, choosing father, because he chose for his sons all who fell in combat, and for their abode prepared Valhalla and Vingolf. He had besides many other names.

The next mightiest was Thor, the thunderer, the son of Odin. His realm was Thrúðvang, and his mansion, Bilskirmir, in which were five hundred and forty halls, was the largest house ever built, as we are told in the Grimnis-mal.

" Five hundred halls,  
And forty more,  
Methinketh hath  
Bowed Bilskirmir;  
Of houses roofed,  
There's none I know  
My son's surpassing."

Thor rode about in a car drawn by two goats. He had three precious things: the mallet, called mjǫlnir, which, when he hurled it, returned to his hand—a sort of boomerang; the belt, megingjardir, which, when girded about him, doubled his strength; and the iron gauntlets, which he must put on to lay hold of the handle of his mallet.

Odin's second son was Baldur, the best and most universally beloved of the gods. Rays of light seemed to issue from him. "He is the mildest, the wisest, and the most eloquent of all the Æsir, yet such is his nature that the judgment he has pronounced can never be altered."† Into his heavenly mansion, Breidablik, nothing unclean could enter.

The third of the sons of Odin was Njord, who ruled over the winds, and checked the fury of the sea and of fire. He had great treasures, which he could give to those who called

\* *Prose Edda*, c. 20.

† *Ibid*, c. 22.

upon him for them. His son was Frey and his daughter Freyja, both beauteous and mighty. The latter was the goddess of love, and was married to Odur, who left her to travel into far countries, since which time Freyja continually wept for him, and her tears were drops of pure gold.

Tyr was the protector of champions and brave men; Bragi was the god of eloquence and poetry; Heimdall, the gold-toothed, was the warder of the gods. He slept more lightly than a bird, could see by day or night more than a hundred miles, could hear the grass grow and the wool upon the backs of sheep. He had charge of the bridge of the gods from earth to heaven—the rainbow—and was to see that some of the giants passed over it. There were also Hodur, a blind deity, who unintentionally slew Baldur; Vidar, the silent; Vali, Ullur, and Forseti. Hoki was also reckoned among the superior deities. He was “the calumniator of the gods, the contriver of fraud and mischief, and the disgrace of gods and men.”\* He was the father of the wolf Fenrir, the Midgard serpent, Jormungand, and Hela, death.

There were also twelve principal goddesses, the chief of whom was Frigga, the wife of Odin. She knew the destinies of men but never revealed them. Freyja ranked next to Frigga. Eir excelled in the healing art. Gefjon was the patroness of maidens who chose to remain so. Besides the twelve, there were many other goddesses who served in Valhalla, and were sent by Odin to the field of battle to make choice of those who were to be slain, and to sway the victory.

Odin made the celestial city, Asgard, in the middle of the earth, where resided the Æsir, children of the All-Father. It contained a hall called Gladsheim, where were the throne of Odin and seats of the other gods. There was another hall named Vingolf, which was the sanctuary of the goddesses. The Æsir built a smithy, where they had all kinds of tools, and at one time made so many movables of gold that the age was therefore named the golden age.

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\* *Prose Edda*, c. 33.

The holiest seat of the gods was under the ash, Yggdrasil, where they met every day in council, riding on horseback over the bridge Bifröst (the rainbow). Yggdrasil's branches spread over the whole world and above heaven. It had three roots, one extending to the *Æsis*, another to the frost giants, where was formerly *Gimungagap*, and the third to *Niflheim*, under which was *Hvergelmir*. Under the root that stretched towards the frost giants was the well of the giant *Mirmir*, in which wisdom and wit lay hidden. *Mirmir* had great wisdom, for he drank every morning of the well from the horn *Gjöll*. *Odin* once begged a drink, which he finally obtained by leaving one of his eyes in pledge. Under the root which was in heaven was the holy *Urdar-fount* where the gods assembled. Near the fountain was a beauteous dwelling, out of which went three maidens, named respectively *Urd*, *Verlandi*, and *Skuld* (present, past, and future). They were called *Vorns*, and fixed the fate of all men. These were good *Vorns*, but there were also evil ones, to whom all bad fortune was attributed.

The mythological tales of the two *Eddas* show great imagination. Some of the relations are highly grotesque, and there is occasionally one which exhibits the customs and beliefs of the old Icelanders in a rather humorous light. The fallen heroes who resided in *Valhalla* were feasted on a boar, *Sæhrinnir*, which, though sodden every morning, became whole again every night.

"What have the heroes to drink," said *Gangles*, "in sufficient quantity to correspond to their plentiful supply of meat; do they only drink water?" "A very silly question is that," replied *Har*; "dost thou imagine that All Fathers would invite kings, and jarls, and other great men and give them nothing to drink but water! In that case, methinks, many of those who had endured the greatest hardships and received deadly wounds in order to obtain access to *Valhalla* would find that they had paid too great a price for their water drink, and would indeed have reason to complain were they there to meet with no better entertainment. But thou wilt see that the case is quite otherwise. For the she-goat, named *Heidrum*, stands above *Valhalla*, and feeds on the leaves of a very famous tree called *Daerath*, and from her teats flows mead in such

great abundance that every day a stoop, large enough to hold more than would suffice for all the heroes, is filled with it."

"Verily," said Gangler, "a mighty useful goat is this, and methinks the tree she feeds on must have very singular virtues."\*

The anxiety about the drink of the departed heroes is accounted for when we understand that wine was very scarce among the Icelanders and held very precious. Odin ate nothing, only drank wine, which sufficed to renew his divine strength.

The account of the death of Baldur is one of the most interesting and often-alluded to relations of the Eddas. The good deity had terrible dreams which he related to the other Æsis, and which they took counsel upon to endeavor to avert the threatened calamity. Frigga, his mother, exacted an oath from everything inanimate that it would not hurt Baldur. After that the Æsis amused themselves with throwing darts, stones, and other missiles at him. Loki, the evil deity, was very much vexed because Baldur could not be harmed. He visited Frigga in the guise of an old woman, and the goddess told him the course she had taken to prevent harm to her son, but added, that there was one little shrub, called mistletoe, which seemed so insignificant that she did not think it worth while to exact an oath from it. Loki cut off the mistletoe, went with it to the hall of the Æsis, and induced the blind Hóðs to throw it at Baldur, who was killed. There was great consternation among the gods. Frigga asked who would gain her good-will by riding to Hel and offering a ransom to Hela for the return of Baldur. Hermod, son of Odin, undertook the task, and mounted his father's horse Sleipnir. He rode nine days and as many nights through glens so dark that he could discern nothing until he came to the river Gjöll, which he crossed on a bridge of glittering gold. His horse leaped the gate of Hel without touching it, and he found Baldur occupying the most distinguished seat. He staid with him over night, and in the morning begged Hela to let Baldur go, as nothing but

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\* *Prose Edda*, c. 39.

lamentations were heard among gods and men. Hela promised that if everything animate and inanimate would weep for Baldur he might return to the Æsis. They accordingly sent messengers throughout the world to beg everything to weep for Baldur. All creatures and all substances complied, except an old hag named Thankt, whom the messengers found sitting in a cavern, and who was suspected to be Loki in disguise. She answered:

“Thankt will wail  
With arid tears  
Baldur's bale fire.  
Nought quick or dead  
By man's son gain I,  
Let Hela keep what's hers.”<sup>o</sup>

All the Icelandic poems abound in metaphors, drawn generally from their mythology. Heaven was “the skull of the giant Ymis;” the rainbow “the bridge of the gods;” Odin “the sire of the ages, the god of swords, the supercilious, the sire of verses, the whirlwind of the eagle, etc.,” death, “the long-wandering;” gold, “the tears of Fiezzia;” poetry, “the presenter of the drinks of the gods;” the earth, “the spouse of Odin, the flesh of Ymir, the daughter of night, the vessel which floats on the ages, the foundation of the air;” hair, “the forest of the head;” if white, “the snow of the brain;” the eye, “the torch of the face, the diamond of the brain;” rivers, “the sweat of the earth, blood of the valleys;” the sea, “the field of pirates, girdle of the earth;” a ship, “the house of the waves;” night, “the veil of cares;” rocks, “the bones of the earth,” etc.

The most extensive remains of Icelandic literature are the sagas—narratives—which are mostly historical and biographical. Some of them are mythical and heroic, as the *Volsunga Saga*, *Norma Gest's Saga*, and *Vilkina Saga*, which last contains the fable from which the Swiss story of William Tell was probably derived. It has also the Teutonic story of the Nei-

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<sup>o</sup> *Prose Edda*, c. 49.

belungen lied. A number of sagas are comprised in the collection attributed to Snorri Sturlason, called the *Heimskringla*, or *Chronicles of the Kings of Norway*. Of sagas which are relied upon as valuable histories there are a great many, including the *Heidarviga-saga*, *Njal's*, *Eigil's*, and *Kormak's* sagas, the *Egrbygga Saga*, which has been translated by Sir Walter Scott, the *Faereyinga*, *Laxdaela*, *Kristni*, and Bishop *Arni's Sturlunga Saga*, story of the *Sturla* family, of which Snorri was the founder. This was written towards the close of the thirteenth century, and is an important history of events in Iceland from very early times till the year 1264. *Ari Frodi's Schedal* was the earliest work written in the Norse language, its date being 1120. The *Lándnamabök*, written at the close of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century, recounts how the land was taken possession of by the first settlers, and gives the names of three thousand persons and fourteen hundred places. The sagas of *Eirek the Red* and of *Thorfinn Karlsefni*, give an account of the discovery and colonization of Greenland, and, what is very interesting to us, of the voyages to Finland, as the coast of Massachusetts, where they landed, was called by the Icelandic rovers.

There are eighteen sagas entitled, "*Konungasogur* ; or, *Chronicles of the Kings of Norway*," which are very valuable, containing a history of Norway from the year 841 to 1264. There are a number of romantic sagas, of which the most important are the *Hervarar*, *Herðin*, and *Hognis* sagas. The following is from the "*Song of the Berserks*," in the *Hervarar* saga :

"Brown are our ships,  
But the Varus admire  
The haunts of the brave ;  
Horses of the sea,  
They carry the warrior  
To the winning of plunder.

"The wandering home  
Enriches the fixed one ;  
Welcome to woman



Is the crosser of ocean ;  
Merry are children  
In strange attire.

"Narrow are our beds  
As graves of the nameless ;  
But mighty our rising  
As the storms of Thor ;  
He fears not man  
Who laughs at the tempest."

There are a multitude of Icelandic mediæval romances, some of which possess features of great interest, and which have been translated into the different languages of Europe. Professor Müller gives a list of one hundred and nineteen of them from the French, Dutch, German, Latin, etc.\*

At the Protestant Reformation began a new era in the literature of the island with the modern language of *Islenzka*. This is not so interesting as the old Norse remains, but there are some creditable modern Icelandic writers. Among them were John Vidalin, Bishop of Skalholt, who has been called the Icelandic Cicero, and Espolin, who wrote a very good continuation of the Sturlunga Saga. Sijurd Retursson and John Thorlaksson are reckoned respectable poets. The latter has translated Pope's 'Essay on Man' and Milton's 'Paradise Lost.' An Englishman, Mr. John Heath, presented to the Icelandic Library Society at Copenhagen Thorlaksson's translation of the 'Paradise Lost,' printed at his own expense. This translation is in the measure of the Edda, and in a poem in the same metre the Society returned thanks to Mr. Heath.

"Milton sang  
His matchless chaunt,  
Praise of God  
And Paradise,  
Mundane Epos  
Fall of man ;  
Not with suns  
The song expires.

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\* *Sagabibliothek*. vol. iii, p. 480.

"Grateful world  
 Gives him thanks ;  
 Loves his lay  
 And bids it sound  
 In all tongues  
 Of Europe's sons.  
 Lo ! 'tis heard  
 In Iceland Thule."

There is a majesty in the Icelandic metre notwithstanding its short lines, and the rhythm is very pleasing. But with the vanished gods of the old mythology we should expect would depart the charm of song. No longer echo the sublime strains of the ancient skalds,

"Round the shores where Kunie Odin  
 Howls his war-song to the gale."

Musical verse still has its charms and ever will, it is to be hoped, but with the advancement of science and philosophy disappear the popular beliefs which rendered poetry the expression of sublime religious faith. "If it be asked," says Hallett, "what has become of that magic power which the ancients attributed to their art, it may well be said to exist no more. The poetry of the modern languages is nothing more than reasoning in rhyme, addressed to the understanding but very little to the heart. No longer essentially connected with religion, politics, or morality, it is at present, if I may so say, a mere private art, an amusement that attains its ends when it has gained the cold approbation of a few select judges."\*

No one can read the eddas, the sagas, and other remains of Icelandic literature without feeling the contrast between the epochs of creative art and our own prosaic age. Between us and the grand ideality of the past steps cold, stern science, and it is only when we can forget the real as it has been revealed to us that we are permitted to enjoy in sympathy the ennobling beauty of those old-time imaginings. Not only Baldur the beautiful, but all the gods of the past are dead ;

\* *Northern Antiquities*, p. 238.

the Jehovah of the Hebrews is scarcely believed in and worshipped in professedly christian lands.

"Stern old gods! your lips were fated  
To misread the prophecies,  
And all vainly have ye waited  
For Valhalla's towers to rise.  
Your deep slumbers are unbroken,  
And Thor's challenge is not spoken.  
And no skald's glowing line  
Gives the long-awaited sign.

"Love is Asgard; here its place is,  
And your reign of force is o'er;  
Truth is wide, and it embraces  
All the dim beliefs of yore;  
All your shadowy aspirings,  
All your faint and far desirings,  
In its brighter, clearer ray,  
Round into the perfect day."

We know that those old mythological systems, with much theology of a later date, were mostly delusion, and we may rest assured that it is better, or will be in time, to know the truth, however pleasant it may seem to believe in solacing fictions. Truth will bring us the greatest amount of happiness of which we are capable if we trust it. And if faith in the unseen departs there yet remains these two, hope and charity. Love brightens our present, and we may hope that upon the soil of reality, as cleared and prepared by science, will, in time, grow and bloom a more satisfying and enduring poetry.

ART. IV. 1. *Reports by the Newspapers of Races between American and English Yachts; especially the Dauntless, Cambria, etc., etc.* New York, August and September 1870.

2. *Histoire de la Marine de tous les peuples, depuis la plus haute antiquité jusqu'à nos jours.* Paris.

It is not often that sport is beneficial to the public any further than it is conducive to the health of those who take part

in it; but far be it from us to deny that even the latter is a great advantage. When the sport is rational, and has no tendency to create mischief, it is a sufficient recommendation that the health is improved by it. Nor would we exclude it altogether even on the Sabbath when it possesses this character; we are inclined to think that after the appropriate religious services of the day have been duly participated in it is no great sin to amuse one's self a little. But when the sport is of such a character that it exercises a salutary influence on the mind as well as the body, then, we hold, the severest moralist and the most pious christian should encourage rather than oppose it, and still more should it be encouraged if it contributes to the development of any great principle or system that is favorable to national prosperity.

That Yachting possesses these characteristics none who reflect will deny; it is one of the few sports that are at once manly and beautiful, noble and useful. We have no intention, however, on the present occasion, of writing an essay on yachting; nor shall we trouble our readers with statistics or other details. The leading daily papers have so recently and so fully gratified the public in this respect that it would be mere affectation on our part to pretend to give a more satisfactory narrative. Assuming, therefore, that all our readers are more or less familiar with what our yachtmen have accomplished thus far, especially in their honorable contests for supremacy with the yachtmen of England, let it be our business to show briefly how much superior this sport is to all other kinds in the influence which it exercises and the results which, in time, that influence is sure to produce on our national prosperity.

While our readers will bear us testimony that it is not our habit to exaggerate either good or evil, we hold that if the public only fully comprehended how much there is in yachting, beyond the mere sport it affords, there would be few if any men in this country more popular than Mr. James Gordon Bennett, Jr., nor would any one capable of forming an intelligent, im-

partial opinion on the subject deny that that popularity was eminently deserved. It may be remembered that this was the light in which Mr. Bennett was regarded in Europe by the most eminent statesmen, and by princes and sovereigns, as well as by the general public, on the occasion of the great victory which he gained with his yacht.

We may remark, in passing, that it is but just to remember, at the same time, that the best classes at home and abroad were willing to admit that Mr. Bennett, Sr., was also entitled to much credit, since it was he more than any other person in America who had urged the formation of yacht clubs. We well remember ourselves that, so early as 1848, there was scarcely a week but the Herald said more or less in favor of aquatic sports; and nothing appeared in that journal then which had not been suggested, or at least approved, by its editor. Three years later there was a great triumph: the yacht America gained a complete victory over all competitors at Cowes, England, exciting the admiration of all Europe—even of those whose yachts had hitherto been regarded as unapproachable.

We shall never forget the sensation produced in England by this event. All the leading journals throughout the kingdom were filled with wondering comments, in the form of editorials and letters. We remember a letter\* addressed by Captain H. J. Matson, R.N., to the Times, which commenced thus: "Your truthful description of the victory gained by the clipper yacht America over all competitors must have caused the interest excited by that vessel's arrival among us to extend far beyond the waters of the Solent. Whatever may be the opinion of our shipbuilders on the subject, it is certain that our yachtsmen have very *unreservedly* and gracefully *acknowledged the superiority of their foreign rival*." In an elaborate article on the same event, the Liverpool Journal proclaimed: "The Yankees are no longer to be ridiculed, much less despised. The new world is bursting into greatness—walking past the old world, as the America did the yachts at

\* Dated Elmsworth, August 21, 1861.

Cowes, hand over hand. She dipped her star-spangled banner to the royalty of Great Britain, for superiority is ever courteous; and the graceful act *indicates the direction in which our inevitable competition should proceed.* America, in her own phrase, is going ahead, *and will assuredly pass unless we accelerate our speed."*

Not one in the United States was more rejoiced at this victory than James Gordon Bennett; nor had any one, save the actual winner, a better right to be proud of it; although he probably had little idea that his own son, then but a child, would one day win a still greater victory, and shed still higher lustre on the "wooden walls" of the great republic. Perhaps, however, he was as hopeful in this case of what time and training would accomplish as when he first suggested, in his journal about the same year, and thenceforward persistently *urged*, that there was no reason why the city of New York should not, within an incredibly short period, have a Park equal to the beautiful Bois de Boulogne. We do not mean that Mr. Bennett was alone in advocating the importance of yacht clubs, and of a "great Central Park for New York." Several other leading editors, especially the late Mr. Raymond, and Mr. Greeley, favored the same projects; but the credit of priority in each undoubtedly belongs to Mr. Bennett; and who will deny that it is a credit of which any one might be proud?

Had it been the thoughtless crowd who honored young Mr. Bennett with the ovations alluded to above, it would have been strange, since it is not that class who are aware how great has been the distinction awarded in all ages, even in the most remote antiquity, to those who gained similar triumphs. Nothing was more admired or prized by the ancients than fast sailing; there is not one of the great intellectual works of antiquity that have reached our time, whether in the form of poetry, history, or oratory, in which honorable mention is not made of it. Not only in the comedy and tragedy of the Greeks, but also in their sculpture and painting is the

swift ship (*naus dieros*) honored ; and it is celebrated with at least equal admiration in the Roman classics.

This will not seem strange if it be borne in mind that among the ancients the ship and its movements were regarded as requiring a pretty accurate knowledge of nearly all the sciences. The swift-sailing bark was everywhere appreciated accordingly by every enlightened nation ; and in proportion as nations were enlightened and great did they prize it. What did Tyre, Sidon, and Carthage, as well as Athens, owe their national greatness to but their swift-sailing barks ? In modern times, what gave the republics of Venice, Genoa, and the Netherlands their great power but their brave and well-trained sailors ? and what enables England to look on in comparative tranquility, while all Europe is engaged in deadly strife, but the same nautical skill and bravery ?

It may be asked, what has all this to do with yachting ? but we answer that it has a great deal. We are all the more anxious to impress the latter fact on our readers because the present condition of our commerce requires that every legitimate means should be used to revive it. Assuming it to be true that those who gain most distinction as members of yacht clubs seldom become masters of merchant vessels, but a similar argument might be applied with equal reason and justice to the professors in our colleges and universities. Does it follow that, because the professors do not enter congress or the pulpit, or sit upon the judicial bench, that they exercise no important influence on congress, the pulpit, or the bench ?

If their favorable influence is sometimes not very perceptible in some of these relations, it may be well to inquire whether if they understood the sciences and arts, which they are supposed to teach, as well as some of our yachters who cross the Atlantic so gaily in their swift barks understand navigation, there would not be less reason to complain of the general results of their teaching. It may be remembered that we have complained more than once, ourselves, in these pages, that there

are professors who instruct their students more in billiard and chess-playing than in all other sciences and arts.

Some may object to the comparison, but there is good reason for it. All kinds of sailing vessels are so common at the present day, that the most thoughtful are apt to forget what an amount of multifarious knowledge is necessary to construct and sail one that is distinguished for its superior sailing qualities. Among the ancients this was so well understood that none but the most learned men were deemed capable either of constructing or sailing a yacht. Thus, for example, the famous yacht of Hiero, king of Sicily, was built under the direction of the celebrated mathematician and astronomer Archimides. We are informed on excellent authority that a whole volume was written by Moschion on the structure of this vessel.

At this time yachts were made much larger than they are at present—so large in some instances that their magnitude would seem incredible were it not attested by various historians whose truthfulness cannot be questioned. Thus, for example, Athenæus describes another Sicilian yacht, built under the same auspices, which, he says, had sufficient wood in it to make sixty galleys. He adds that it had nearly as many apartments as a palace, including banquetting rooms, picture galleries, gardens, fish ponds, stables, mills, baths, a temple of Venus, etc. We are quite aware how much like Oriental hyperbole this seems, but it is not the only structure built under the direction of Archimides which, if described, would seem a mere creation of the fancy, because nothing like it exists at the present day, notwithstanding all our boasted modern improvements.\*

A vessel of such magnitude and beauty is no more fabulous than many other great ancient works would have seemed to us did they not still exist to excite the wonder and admiration of mankind. This is true, for example, of the Pyramids of Egypt; and referring to these stupendous works reminds us of the famous yacht of Ptolemy Philopater, which is said to

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\* *Vide* Athenæus, *Deipnosophist*, ed. Causab., 1857.



have been two hundred and eighty cubits (four hundred and twenty feet) long, thirty-eight cubits broad, and forty-eight high. The poets of all countries have immortalized Cleopatra's barge; no doubt it was a magnificent yacht, but there is good reason to believe that it was much inferior both in magnitude and elegance to many barks built by the Phœnicians several centuries earlier. Those who, judging from the master-pieces which the ancients have left us in poetry, history, oratory, and sculpture, are willing to believe that the same people built such yachts as those alluded to above, can hardly wonder that the invention of the ship was ascribed by the Greeks to so many mythical personages; some giving the credit of it to Dædalus, and maintaining that the wings which he is said to have used to save himself from the labyrinth of Create were the sails he first gave to vessels, and by means of which he eluded the vigilance and pursuit of Minos; others, again, claiming the credit of the invention for Janus, for no other reason than that on certain Greek and Latin coins his double face is found on one side, while a stately ship adorns the reverse.\*

It is delightful to read in the ancient classics of the utility and beauty of the Greek ships. In proof of this it would be almost sufficient to refer to the famous Homeric catalogue, in which we are informed that the Bœotians alone—the dullest and most backward of all the Greek states—brought with them to Troy fifty ships, each carrying one hundred and twenty soldiers.† That the Greek ships in general were light may be inferred from the fact that, on the arrival of the invading armies on the coast of Troy, the vessels were drawn on land and fastened at the poop to large stones.‡ In short, there is not one of the Homeric poems in which sailing vessels of some kind are not alluded to in a manner which shows how highly fast-sailing was prized by that ingenious and lively people. Indeed, there is scarcely a passage in the whole Iliad or

\* *Vide* Plut. *Quæst. Rom.*, Macrob., sat. 1.

† *Ib.*, ii. 510.

‡ *Ib.*, i., 436.

Odyssey remarkable for its peculiar beauty into which the ship has not been introduced in one form or other. In one place it is used to fire the ardor of the maritime states; in another, as an illustration of Greek skill and courage; in another, as an emblem of vitality, beauty, and grace. But, under all circumstances, there is poetry in it. And in nothing has Virgil imitated Homer more closely than in the use he makes of the ship (*navis*), the fleet (*classis*), vessels (*rates*), etc. Even Dido, with all her beauty and misfortunes, scarcely affords him a more extensive variety of charming poetry.

The tragic poets also show, while adorning their happiest effusions with images drawn from the same prolific source, how highly the cultivated Greeks of their time prized ships and sailing. Euripides knew more about statesmanship and political economy than either Æschylus or Sophocles; he knew better than either of his great rivals how much of the glory of Athens was due to the love of its young men for sailing—in short, for just such sport as our modern yachting. Accordingly, even when most sublime, he loses no opportunity of introducing a ship of some kind. In the *Orestes* it is the bark or light vessel (*akatos*);\* in the *Troades* he represents the heavier ship by a beautiful metaphor, mentioning only its prow.† Again, in his *Hecuba*, he introduces the flat-boat or raft (*schedia*)‡ the lightest of vessels that were generally used by the students in learning to row and sail. Nor was it the poets alone who evinced this fondness for the ship; the historians and orators were equally disposed to encourage its use. Thucydides speaks of a bark or shallop (*keles*)§ which, though doubtless not as swift as the Dauntless or Cambria, was intended for similar purposes.

Turning to Roman literature, we find Lucretius, Virgil, Horace, and TERENCE, as well as Livy, Tacitus, Cicero, and Cæsar, availing themselves of every opportunity to encourage a taste for aquatic sports, not only as highly conducive to

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\* V. 335.

† Hec., 107.

† V. 104.

§ Thuc., iv.

health, but also as a means of rendering Rome as powerful on sea as she was on land; for, until the final overthrow of Carthage, the Mistress of the World had always reason to dread the Carthaginian galleys. Thus we could fill all the pages occupied by these remarks with beautiful passages from the poets, orators, and historians of Rome, every one of which serves to show more or less directly that the Romans were quite equal to the Greeks in the importance which they attached to all means calculated to make skilful and brave sailors of the young men. Nothing is clearer than that it was regarded as a great honor both at Athens and Rome to excel in nautical skill; indeed, those who distinguished themselves by such skill were ranked with the greatest philosophers and statesmen.

We need hardly remind our readers how much English literature is pervaded by the same spirit of admiration for the ship and her movements; this is particularly true of the works of the greatest thinkers. Thus, if we turn for example to Milton, we shall find that the great poet can find no apter illustration of remarkable shrewdness and fascinating beauty combined than the comparison:

"As when a ship by skilful steersman brought  
Nigh river's mouth, or foreland, where the wind  
Veers oft, as oft so steers and shifts her sail.\*

Nearly all the poets have compared a well-rigged ship to a beautiful woman. Milton has compared the latter to the former, describing the approach of the beautiful Delila as follows:

"Like a stately ship  
Of Tarsus, bound for the isles  
Of Jarvan or Gadire,  
With all her bracing on and tackle trim,  
Sails fill'd and streamers waving,  
Court'd by all the winds that hold them play."†

Bacon, one of the profoundest of modern thinkers, compares ships with books, because the ship "carries riches and commodities from place to place, and consociateth the most

\* *Par. Lost*, b. ix., v. 513.

† *Agonistes*, 714.

remote regions in participation of their fruits." Thus we see the real character of the kind of sport which our leading papers, with all their faults, encourage and foster; we see it is a kind which has commanded the admiration of the philosophers, statesmen, poets, and heroes of all ages. But another word before we close, as to the tendency of fostering a taste for aquatic sports. Neither poet nor philosopher places the truth of the principle we maintain in a more forcible light than Campbell, when he tells the "Mariners of England" that

"Britannia needs no bulwarks,  
No towers along the steep;  
Her march is on the mountain wave,  
Her home is on the deep."

It must be admitted that there is as much truth as poetry in this. There is no good reason why we should deny the fact. It is much wiser to pursue the course of young Mr. Bennett and other leading American yachters, and say to England: "Yes, we admit that you have cause to be proud of your 'march' and your 'home,' but America very decidedly disputes with you the empire of the sea. We are resolved to prove to you that what you call your own element is quite as much ours."

Indeed, that fact has been fully proved already. Our yachters have gained sufficient victories; but there is glory even in being defeated in so noble a cause, especially when it is acknowledged by all, as in the case of the *Dauntless*, that the defeat, if such it may be called, was purely the result of accident. What that gallant craft did before, she would and doubtless will do again, although one such triumph is as much as the most sanguine should expect from one vessel; certainly it is sufficient to render the *Dauntless* dear to every American who really loves his country.

If all our yachters will only exert themselves so well as the intrepid owner of the *Dauntless* has done, we shall not long have to complain of the decline of our commerce—a complaint which is much more serious than the public in general

are apt to suppose, since nothing is more fully understood among statesmen and political economists than that the war navy of every country is powerful, or feeble, in proportion to its commerce is extensive or otherwise, and that, accordingly, the latter cannot suffer any great diminution without injury to the former. We are aware that our navy has not suffered yet; nor do we think there is any danger that it will suffer so long as its chief management is left in such able, skilful, and gallant hands as those of Admiral Porter. But it is not sufficient that it be not weakened; its increasing strength should keep pace with the development of our resources.

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ART V.—1. *Life, Writings, and Speeches of William Pinkney.*

By HENRY WHEATON.

2. *Life of William Pinkney.* By his nephew, WILLIAM PINKNEY.

IT is profitable, occasionally, to return to celebrated advocates; to those who stood foremost in their profession, and learn their genius and character. The great advocate needs to be recalled, for he soon passes away, and seldom leaves any traces of his genius to rescue his name from oblivion. The fragments of some speech may perchance come down to us; but how inadequate! and we repair to the writings and the fleeting recollections of his contemporaries to supply and take the measure of his greatness. The celebrated American jurists who shed lustre upon the law fifty years ago are fast passing into oblivion. A few of the most distinguished names remain in connection with important causes, and in a few imperfectly assorted arguments, to tell what they were.

William Pinkney was of this number. His career and success at the bar have hardly a parallel in this country. He did not all at once attain the renown of an Erskine, nor secure so many retainers after his first effort at the bar. He went to

London, and there remained till 1804, and at the age of forty recommenced his former career. He was the attorney-general of Maryland, and stood forth the greatest advocate at that bar. At a later day he was the presiding genius of the American bar, and is not forgotten, though he left us but fragments of his great acts which made his life illustrious. He performed no inconsiderable service in a diplomatic relation which reflected credit upon his country. He was a statesman well grounded in all the workings of the state; the great expositor of its policy and its laws. Let us recall him as he was in the midst of his fame.

William Pinkney was born at Annapolis, Maryland, in 1764. He was early placed under the care of a private tutor, and was instructed in the classics. He had the advantages of some classical institute, but nothing more. The times in which he lived were not propitious to educate the young men of the country. The nation was just recovering from the effects of the war of the Revolution; the young men did not hesitate to take up arms to defend the rights of the colonies. They threw aside their books and went to the wars. There was Hamilton mounting the rostrum to help on the contest; there was John Marshall, just commencing the study of the law, which he afterwards so much adorned, and who joined the new recruits; there was Aaron Burr and Charles Lee among the first and most efficient of their age.

Such was the patriotism of that day that the young men gave themselves to their country first. In these disturbing times young Pinkney was reared. He commenced the study of medicine, but gave it up, like Thomas Addis Emmett and Sir James Mackintosh, for the more congenial study of the law. While he was engaged in the study of medicine he became a member of a debating club in the city of Baltimore. This little school of eloquence was destined to bring him to the bar, for he evinced so much genius in debate that he attracted the attention of Samuel Chaw, one of the associate judges of the supreme court of the United States, who listened to the young orators on one occa-

sion. Pinkney's success was so brilliant that he was called the "king of the club." Judge Chaw advised him to take up the study of the law, and welcomed him to all the advantages his own office afforded. He commenced his law reading in 1783. Coming forward under the instruction of this able jurist, he soon took a marked position in his profession; for he had read deeply and accurately, bringing to the pursuit all the ardor and energy of his character. His attainments in the law of real estate and in special pleadings were very exact and thorough. His favorite book, and which he had entirely mastered, was "Coke on Littleton." He was wont to say that Chief Justice Parsons, of Massachusetts, and himself were the only American lawyers who had mastered that work. It is evident from the character of his mind that he was a student who understood whatever he attempted to read. This closeness of study invigorated and disciplined his mind to that species of logic that makes a part of the solid attainments of the great advocate and jurist.

In 1788 he became a member of the convention that adopted the constitution of the United States. He was also elected to the legislature, and afterwards to the state senate, where he remained up to 1796. He was then appointed by Washington to England as commissioner under the Jay treaty, where he remained till 1804. Again, in 1806, he was sent as minister to England and remained till 1811. In 1805 he became attorney-general for the state; and in 1811 he was appointed United States attorney-general, which office he held two years under Mr. Madison. In 1815 he was elected to congress, and made an able speech on the treaty-making power. In 1816 he went to Russia as American minister. The 4th day of January, 1820, he took a seat in the senate of the United States, and acted a leading part in the Missouri compromise. He died the 22d day of February, 1822, in the fifty-eighth year of his age.

When thirty-two years of age, he occupied such a position as to attract the attention of Washington and receive this

important mission to London. Up to this time he had been indefatigably devoted to the law. He made one set speech in the legislature, in 1788, of which he said at a later day that it was well enough for a young man. This speech was elicited by the question of slavery, and favored emancipation in Maryland: it is a very creditable effort, but hardly gave evidence of that great power in debate which so pre-eminently distinguished Mr. Pinkney at the maturity of his faculties. At the time he went abroad he was the leader of the bar in his section of the state, but there are no traces of his early labors, except what may be found in the law reports.

He joined Christopher Gork at London, and upon the organization of the board of commissioners the work commenced. To know what part Pinkney took in the investigation of the causes that came before the board, respecting the practice in prize courts, domicile, blockade, and contraband of war, we have but to read the papers he wrote, and which were pronounced "finished models of judicial eloquence" by Henry Wheaton. The position of Mr. Pinkney, at London, afforded him rare opportunities and brought him in contact with the leading statesmen of England. And this was a time when England had statesmen, orators, and jurists such as never have appeared since upon the stage of public affairs. Among the orators as among the statesmen of this age were the most celebrated names in British eloquence. It was the age of Pitt and Fox; and there was Edmund Burke, the greatest of all, reposing in his old age in his quiet retreat at Beaconsfield, upon the recollection of a useful and honorable life. But this luminary, as he set, left the whole heaven's aglow with the brightness of his flame. His death but seems

"another morn,  
Risen on mid-noon,"

for such was the grandeur of the scene. There was Gratton, among the foremost orators of the age, who had, as he said,



when speaking of the liberty of Ireland, "sat by its cradle and followed its hearse." There were Sheridan, Windham, Wilberforce. There too were Romilly and Mackintosh, rising to fill, in part, the void made by the death of Burke. Then came Canning and Brougham, the leaders of parliament in a subsequent age. The bar and the bench were equally adorned by Mansfield, Ellenborough, Camden, Eldon, Kenion, and Sir William Scott; and Erskine and Scartell shone forth the greatest advocates of the age. Such a theatre for observation could not but be improved by a man like Pinkney. It certainly made a deep impression upon him. He became fashioned to the manners of court, and is supposed to have modelled after the English orators, as he certainly changed the style of his eloquence and his manners.

His readiness in debate and in the transaction of business, the elegance of his diction, the richness of his elocution, his vivid fancy, his flexible voice, his easy and calm manner and graceful delivery, were the qualities that gave him an early eminence. He subsequently adopted a more vehement and emphatic manner of speaking. Mr. Justice Story heard Pinkney for the first time, after his return from England in 1811, and he thus describes his oratory: "His manner was original, imperative, and vehement. He had some natural, some acquired defects, which made him in some degree fall short of that exquisite conception of the imagination, the perfect orator. His voice was thick and guttural; it rose and fell with little melody and softening of tones, and was occasionally abrupt and harsh in its intonations, and wanting in liquidness and modulation. At times his utterance was hurried on to an excess of vehemence, and then as it were, *per saltum*, he would suffer it to fall at the close of the sentence to a low and indistinct whisper, which confused at once the sense and the sound. This inequality of elocution did not seem so much a natural defect as a matter of choice or artificial cultivation. But the defect, from whatever cause it arose, was displeasing, and sometimes gave to his speeches the air of too much study and measured

dignity or dramatic energy ; but no man could hear him for any length of time without being led captive by his eloquence."

It has been supposed that Pinkney modelled after Erskine, and it is related that he attempted to give a specimen of Erskine, which was precisely in his own best manner. How far he may have copied the English orators it is now difficult to say. But we have his first impressions of their oratory recorded in 1797, and hence we can say that he stated it to be his opinion that American eloquence did not suffer in comparison. He said that English orators all had one fault—they did not understand the power that may be given to the human voice by means of tones and modulations. He represented Pitt's voice as full and impressive, and his articulation as unusually distinct. "I thought at first," said he, "his pronunciation was too precise and analytic. It is, in fact, a sort of spelling pronunciation, that gives unnecessary body and importance to every syllable ; but I am more familiarized to this scholastic peculiarity and hardly feel its impropriety. I observe that Pitt, as well as Fox, closes his periods with a cadence unknown in America. I think it unmusical and harsh ; it is, however, so completely fashionable that you meet with it even in Westminster Hall." How far he became familiarized to this cadence, so unknown to American eloquence, by his long residence in London does not appear, except from this change in his own style of eloquence. If he understood the power and compass of the voice he most assuredly failed to govern it so as to produce the happiest effect in eloquence. It rose and fell with little melody, and wanted liquidness and modulation. A notice of high authority represents the manner of Pinkney's oratory in this wise :

"It was only after his return from his second mission to England that we had the opportunity of witnessing any of his forensic displays. His manner at the time was certainly very peculiar, but it seemed not so much tinged with foreign imitations as by his own peculiarities of mind and taste. It was apparently studied to the utmost action, and we know that he practised much before the mirror. At the beginning he spoke in loud and indistinct murmurs, as if he were conjuring up the spirit of his

elocution by muttered incantations. During this period his action was constrained, and in some of his later efforts at the bar his lips have been seen to part with their color, his cheeks to turn pale, and his knees to shake. As he advanced he became bold, erect, and dictatorial; his voice swelled from his low notes, which were extremely musical, always parting with its charm as it rose; though his high notes were rather inarticulate and imperfect than harsh. He spoke with great vehemence, rushing from thought to thought with a sort of ferocity; his eyes fiery, his nostrils distended, and his lips covered with froth, which he would wipe away. His gesture was quite as peculiar. His right arm was brought in frequent sweeps along his side; his right foot advanced, and his body alternately thrown back and forward as if about to strike down his adversary; big drops of sweat all the while coursing along their channels from his forehead. This heat and tempest of his passion he would sustain through periods that might have mastered the sturdiest frames. It was too much the *habit* of his manner to gain the credit of being excited by his subject, and thus threw a frigidness over his best forensic efforts. He became sensible of the vices of his elocution at a later day, and in some of his speeches avoided those of his manner almost entirely. His success in this reform, at an age when most men find their habits too rigid for change, proves how much he could fashion himself to his own taste."

These extracts represented Mr. Pinkney as he appeared at the bar, when he engaged in the discussion of some great cause, and they afford a just idea of the peculiar style of his eloquence. It is thus seen that he fell short of the idea of a perfect orator. Had he overcome these faults of manner, his oratory would have been as perfect as his matter was solid. But, as it was, with all his defects, he was the most extraordinary advocate at the American bar. There was that in his eloquence that carried all before him. Though he was not the most persuasive or pathetic among orators, yet he had a greater power of reason and of utterance than any of his rivals at the bar. If he could not be called the most complete orator of his day, he certainly could challenge the mastery in discussion with the greatest lawyers. He put aside digests and abridgements, and mastered the old reports and "Coke on Littleton." He knew the curious learning of the old law, and fully surveyed its ancient edifice, till it rose up com-

plete in all its parts. By deep study of man, of books, and of the world, he came to be a great lawyer. He was earnest, clear, erudite, subtle, and profound. He had the command of a strong, copious, and powerful kind of prose; sometimes ornate, often figurative though not always correct. His arguments were thorough, analogical, far-reaching, and exhaustive. He presented his cause with so much clearness and directness, tracing the points of resemblance and disagreement to cases analogous—applying the maxims of equity to the rigors of the law—expounding the great principles upon which he submitted his cause, and finally his summing up, which left the cause no longer doubtful, gave him a dangerous prominence at the bar. Look into that forum and see the great chief justice following him step by step in some great argument which, peradventure, is to be the basis on which to found the opinion of the court:

"While our eyes still turn to that judicial hall," says Mr. Justice Story, "and to that very chair appropriated to the chief justice, the venerable form of Marshall seems still seated there. It was but a momentary dream; and I awoke and found that I had but sketched the first line of his portrait. Yes this great and good man was all that we could ask or even desire for the station. He seemed the very personation of justice itself as he ministered at its altar in the presence of the nation, within the very walls which had often echoed back the unsurpassed eloquence of the dead, of Dexter and Pinkney, of Emmett and Wirt, and of the living also, nameless here, but whose names will swell on the voices of a thousand generations. Enter but that hall and you saw him listening with a quiet easy dignity to the discussion at the bar—silent, serious, searching—with a keenness of thought that sophistry could not mislead or even confuse or ingenuity delude; with a benignity of aspect which invited the modest to move on with confidence; with a conscious firmness of purpose which repressed arrogance and overawed declamation. You heard him pronounce the opinion of the court in a low but modulated voice, unfolding in luminous order every topic of argument, trying its strength and measuring its value, until you felt yourself in the *presence of the very oracle of the law*. You heard principles stated, reasoned upon, enlarged, and explained, until you were lost in admiration at the strength and stretch of the human mind."

Such was the great chief justice who presided in the su-

preme court of the United States ; and there was a Story with all his ample and munificent learning, with other great associates who added renown to that bench. Before this court came for decision the pressing claims of conflicting states and nations, and mighty questions of neutrality and war. In this high court of the nation came for peaceful judicial review questions of state, and it was in this forum, upon these causes, that Pinkney achieved his renown. How much learning, how ample and profound, with genius of high order, discriminating in its reasoning, taking the widest range in the law, the codes civil, common, commercial, constitutional, prize, maritime, and international ; tracing each to its source and elements through its complex forms ; mastering its ancient and obsolete learning ; giving to the cause the fullest study and preparation ; making up his brief from the old writers, and not from the reports only ; setting down the maxims by which cases are tested, confirmed, reversed, and overruled ; analyzing, defining, and illustrating his subject ; separating the true from the false, the accidental from the essential ; deducing from each its appropriate consequences ; presenting his topics of argument in their just order and fullness ; directing and unfolding the premises with an expansive progression to the desired and inevitable conclusion ; speaking in a manner at once elevated and commanding, in language selected from his abundant vocabulary, which made up and formed his truly ample and weighty style of prose,—and these qualities of genius, all uniting in him, placed him at the head of that noble bar whose names stand out upon the records of time as bright and lustrous as the stars that are set in the heavens. These were the high qualities that characterized William Pinkney in those forensic displays which were pronounced to be unsurpassed at the American bar. These are the great qualities upon which his fame must rest ; and there let it rest entwined with the laurels he won. Of him could the first in learning and the first associate upon that bench say :

"His genius and eloquence were so lofty, I might almost say unrivalled; his learning so extensive, his ambition so elevated, his political and constitutional principles so truly just and pure, his weight in the public councils so decisive, his character at the bar so fearless and commanding; that there seems left a dismal and perplexing vacancy. But never do I expect to hear a man like Pinkney. He was a man who appears scarcely once a century. Of him his great rival (Mr. Wirt) said, he died opportunely for his fame. It could not have risen higher. He was a great man. On a set occasion, the greatest I think at the bar. I never heard Emmett nor Wells, and, therefore, I do not say the American bar. He was an excellent lawyer; had very great force of mind, great compass, nice discrimination, strong and accurate judgment; and for copiousness and beauty of diction was unrivalled. He is a real loss to the bar. No man dared to grapple with him without the most careful preparation and the full possession of his strength. Thus he kept the bar on the alert."

This is the tribute of one who was not disposed to concede anything to Pinkney but what really belonged to him, and what it would be unjust to withhold. And certainly Messrs. Wirt and Story had the rarest opportunities to form an impartial judgment. Pinkney was the greatest lawyer at the bar on a set occasion, says Wirt, and this was said at Pinkney's death in 1822, after Wirt had seen more of the great lawyer of the American bar. "After all," says Wirt, "how long will Pinkney be remembered?" He has left no monument of his genius behind him; and posterity will, therefore, know nothing of such a man but by the report of others. Dexter, Emmett, Wells, Wirt, Harper, Jones, Webster, and Hopkinson, with great names succeeding, entered into those conflicts of high debate. To have been placed in the foremost rank of that bar was fame enough for any man less ambitious than Pinkney; for his was an ambition to be the first among the great.

It was in this forum, where laurels were to be won or reputation lost in the conflict of mind, where presided John Marshall. To this forum were summoned the great of every state in the list of the law. There came Dexter, Harper, Martin, Jones, Wells, Pinkney, Wirt, Hopkinson, Hoffman,

Emmett, Dallas, Ogden, Winder, Webster, Swann, Sergeant, Lee, Randolph, Louis, Key, Rawle, Tilghman, Duponceau, Hamilton, Mason, and Ingersoll. Many of these were the veterans of the bar who appeared in Jay's time, and who argued the earlier causes before Chief-Justice Marshall. The rest formed that younger race of lawyers which centred around the bar of the supreme court, and who acquired a greater renown. Many others repaired hither, and whose reputation would add lustre to this galaxy of names. Of those forming that bar, Mr. Walter Jones, venerable in age, was the last survivor. But the void was in part filled up by such lawyers as Edward Livingston, Benine, Badger, Benjamin, Binney, B. F. Butler, Spencer, Samuel A. Talcott, Crittenden, Thomas Ewing, Caleb Cushing, Rufus Choate, Benjamin R. Curtis, Daniel Lord, Charles O'Connor, George Wood, Gilpin, H. S. Legaré, Taney, and Toucey. These are a few of the celebrated lawyers, many of whom have been United States attorneys-general, and few of whom now throng the precincts of that court.

But of the older lawyers, Mr. Walter Jones seemed engaged in the greater number of causes. Dexter, Dallas, and Wells appeared in many important causes up to their decease in 1816 and 1817, and Harper and Pinkney up to 1822 and 1823. Emmett died in 1827, and had been at that bar twelve years in constant practice. Wirt died in 1834, and was eighteen years at that bar and twelve years attorney-general. Webster died in 1852, and was thirty-four years at that bar, and Pinkney about thirteen years in actual practice. Alexander Hamilton and John Marshall appeared with opposing briefs in the first cause involving a question of constitutional law in 1796. Samuel Dexter appeared for New England, and raised the question of the constitutionality of the embargo laws, and with what ability may be seen by a reference to Mr. Webster's answer to Hayne. The first great cause that came before this court, presenting the question of conflicting sovereign claims of state and nation, arose in that

famous case of *M'Cullough vs. The State of Maryland*. To appreciate the importance of the case and the arguments at bar, it need be remembered that it had no less scope than the construction of the entire American system of government. The Constitution was to be considered and expounded, the residuary rights of the states were to be determined by a court from which there was no appeal, and the questions embraced in the discussions at bar the entire federal system. There were no authorities to be cited; the writings in the *Federalist* and the Constitution were alone referred to as text and commentary to guide; the question was novel and important, and there were no precedents to narrow the range of discussion; a decision was to be made which was to settle the whole question, and no sophistry could mislead. This cause demanded the exact and solid learning of the law, united to the genius of a great statesman, to unfold in luminous order and expansive progression these questions of constitutional jurisprudence.

Such was the elevated subject before the court; and there sat Marshall and Story and their associates, forming "more than an Amphycetonic Council," for no other judicial tribunal was ever entrusted with such vast judicial power. The counsel presented a fine scene. There came to this forum, on the part of the State, its attorney-general, Luther Martin, with all his old school learning and robust power, eager for the support of state rights; there was also the able and accomplished Joseph Hopkinson, and the futile, erudite, and subtle Walter Jones. Yet the counsel engaged on the other side filled a larger space in the eyes of men. There appeared the attorney-general of the United States, William Wirt, one of the ablest as well as the most accomplished advocates of that age; and there was Daniel Webster, whose first argument in that forum had elevated him to the highest rank in the law, and called in question the supremacy of the great advocates at that bar; and there was Pinkney, "whose reputation was so high that there was no disparagement in being foiled by him, and great glory in even dividing the palm." This was the most splendid



array of jurists and orators at the American bar, and this was the grandest tournament of forensic display ever witnessed in that court during the times of John Marshall. That hall was filled for the space of ten days with the *elite* of the bar and the bench, who had been drawn thither by the magnitude of the cause. And thither repaired daily the beauty and elegance of Washington to grace and adorn the scene. The court had dispensed with the rule allowing but two counsel to speak on a side. It was arranged that Mr. Webster should open the cause, and he was followed by Hopkinson. Then came Wirt and Jones and Martin. It was for William Pinkney to reply and answer the arguments of those who had gone before him. This rejoinder was the most masterly effort of his life; it occupied three days in delivery, and Story wrote at the time, that "he spoke like a great statesman and patriot, and a sound constitutional lawyer. All the cobwebs of sophistry and metaphysics about state rights and state sovereignty he brushed away with a mighty broom. Mr. Pinkney possesses beyond any man I ever saw the power of elegant and illustrative amplification. His elocution was excessively vehement, but his eloquence was overwhelming."

Chief-Justice Marshall pronounced the unanimous opinion of the court. It was held that the state had exceeded her power, and that she had no right to tax a branch of the United States bank, it being an instrument of the general government, and necessary to execute its implied powers. That opinion put at rest, so far as argument can, the question of state rights as then understood. As a composition, it was a clear, compact piece of logic, and entirely conclusive upon the question. No one can read this opinion without agreeing with Pinkney that Marshall was born to be a chief justice in any country. This conclusion of the court was not reached by an express grant to the federal government. It was admitted at bar that there was no express or enumerated grant, but it was contended that the power to create a bank arose from necessary implication, and was thereby an implied power and a constitutional

means to carry out the powers enumerated in the Constitution. The court so decided, but there were able jurists that denied this implied power, and thought it a dangerous implication. So little understood was our federal system of government at this time, that the State of New York granted to Robert Fulton and Livingston the exclusive right to navigate the waters of the Hudson river and New York bay. The legality of this grant was raised in the courts of New York and decided by Chancellor Kent and the court of errors to be valid. Appeal was had to the supreme court of the United States, and was argued for the state by Emmett and Oakley, and by Webster and Wirt for the appellant. The grant was found void by that court, and it was held that the state had no such reserved power to grant. Emmett was fully enlisted in the cause, and when it was before the court of errors of New York he opened his argument in the following beautiful exordium, evidently having in mind the great bank case :

"The learned counsel who last addressed you has been pleased to speak of the Constitution of the United States. I revere that instrument as much as he does. It was the wonder of my juvenile years—it became the admiration of my manhood. And when imperious circumstances forced me to this happy land, I was one of the first of those unfortunate foreigners who swore to support it. I then was young and now am old, but in the decline of my life I have lived to see that *instrument bend to the tyrant implication.*"

The beauty and impressive manner of this opening can be appreciated only by those who heard Mr. Emmett. Suffice it to say that the senator who then presided in the court of errors, and who took down this exordium in short-hand, assured us that he was so taken up with the orator that he forgot to write more. He stated that his manner was easy, impressive, and solemn, and his voice, which was slightly broken, had a peculiar roll, and gave weight to his words as they fell upon the ear. We can better appreciate this impressive manner of Emmett when we recall the incident in the *Nereide* case at Washington. This was called out in an allusion to himself, upon a slight misunderstanding with Mr. Pinkney in a former

cause. Pinkney made honorable reparation, as it was entirely unintentional. But those present were melted to tears when Emmett uttered these impressive words: "My ambition was extinguished in my youth, and I am admonished by the premature advances of age not now to attempt the dangerous paths of fame." Thus spoke the orator of sensibility, and hearts beat in response. We trust that this episode will repay the digression. It is evidence of the opinions of able jurists in that day as to the powers belonging to the states, and as bearing upon the construction of the Constitution. It is not easy for us to go back and recall the opinions of a preceding age, even upon so important a question as that of the nature of the government.

It was in the celebrated *Nereide* case that Pinkney first met Mr. Emmett, and that these great advocates displayed more than their usual eloquence in debate. It was in 1815, the first term, that Emmett came to the supreme court. He came to this forum with the highest reputation at the bar of New York. He was associated with Josiah Ogden Hoffman, and Mr. Dallas was associated with Mr. Pinkney. It was a prize case, and excited uncommon interest for the reason of the novelty and importance of the principle involved. Pinto, a merchant of Buenos Ayres, had chartered a British ship, a man-of-war, to carry his goods, and took passage on board and sailed under convoy, and having been separated from the convoy, after a short action, was captured. The goods had been condemned upon the ground that they were captured on board an armed enemy's vessel which had resisted the right of search. Pinkney and Dallas appeared for the captors, and Emmett and Hoffman for the claimant. Pinkney insisted that the property ought to be condemned as prize of war, upon the ground that by treaty it was stipulated "that free ships shall make free goods," and the converse proposition was necessarily implied that enemy's ships should make enemy goods, and that they had ever been associated, the one as implying the other; that by the Spanish code neutral property

found on board enemy's vessels was liable to capture and condemnation, and this being the law of Spain as applied to other nations, the same rule was to be forced against her subject, Mr. Pinto; and further, by Pinto's putting his property on board an enemy's vessel which sailed under convoy, he lost the character of a neutral. But Pinkney was not sustained, and the sentence of condemnation was reversed. About this time Sir William Scott held in the admiralty courts of England that, by the law of nations, British captors were entitled to salvage for the recapture of neutral property taken by one of our citizens on board of an armed British ship, upon the ground that the goods would have been liable to condemnation in our courts of prize. Had this opinion been made in time to be cited in the cause perhaps the court would have concurred, but the court held that with the force and conduct of the vessel the shippers had no concern; they deposited their goods on board the vessel, and stipulated for their direct transportation to Buenos Ayres; that the treaty stipulation did not imply the converse proposition that enemy's ships shall make enemy's goods; that a neutral may lawfully employ an armed belligerent vessel to transport his goods and such goods do not act in resistance; that retaliation upon the subjects of a foreign state for its unjust proceedings towards our citizens is a political and not a judicial measure, and is for the consideration of the government, but is not a rule for decision in courts of justice. Had the vessel been armed by Pinto, that fact would have constituted an important feature in the case, but his control commenced and ended with putting the cargo on board of the vessel. He does not appear to have had any authority in the management of the ship.

Though Pinkney failed to sustain the capture as a prize of war, yet it was not for any want of ability to present the cause, although Mr. Dexter, who was in court, was heard to say that Emmett had the best of the argument. His studies, while in London, embraced the code of prize law, and he was its master. There were few or no cases then extant upon the

questions arising in this department of the law. The decisions in the first volumes of Sir William Scott, in Robinson's Reports, were nearly all that then existed, and they are incomplete. The United States courts having exclusive jurisdiction in admiralty and prize law, the supreme court, as the court of last resort, had to settle and declare the law. The court and bar had to resort to the elementary writers and seek light in the pages of Puffendorf, Vattel, Grotius, and Rutherford, and in these works they sought first principles, and by the light of reason determined the law. The labors of the bar are now much relieved by those causes then settled, and which now constitute a system of adjudication. No lawyer came to the bar better prepared than Pinkney to enlighten the judgment of the court in this class of cases. As attorney-general, he assisted to construct the prize code upon the principles of international law. Hence other advocates met him in these causes at great disadvantage. But Mr. Emmett had given much study to the prize code, and these causes rose mainly in the great Atlantic ports.

The speech of Emmett in this case placed him in the front rank of American advocates, and settled forever his claims to the highest distinction in the profession. But the ability and ingenuity displayed by Pinkney elicited a very unusual compliment from the chief justice. He said that a splendid portrait had been drawn, exhibiting this vessel and her freighter as forming a single figure, composed of the most discordant materials of peace and war. "So exquisite was the skill of the artist, so dazzling the garb in which the figure was presented, that it required the exercise of that cold investigating faculty which ought always to belong to those who sit on this bench to discover its only imperfection, its want of resemblance. She does not rove over the ocean, hurling the thunders of war, while sheltered by the olive branch of peace; she is an open and declared belligerent, claiming all the rights and subject to all the dangers of the belligerent character, and she conveys neutral property which does not engage in her warlike equip-

ments, and this, in the opinion of the majority of the court, is not unlawful, and the sentence of the circuit court must be reversed." It was rarely that the court referred to the arguments at bar, and Marshall ever weighed his words, and was sparing of his compliments to counsel, and this to Pinkney was the handsomest that such a court could possibly convey. The argument of Mr. Pinkney in this cause is more complete than any other of his forensic efforts, and, reported as it is, it can be pronounced one of the most remarkable displays of genius to be found in the eloquence of the bar. It alone would sustain his great reputation as an advocate. Some portions are highly wrought and gorgeous, others contain passages of lofty eloquence, enunciating and enforcing some great principle. This speech reveals the hand of a master, and remains forever the broken fragment of his genius.

If Pinkney had not the finished manner and style of Erskine, whose eloquence was an era at Westminster Hall, yet we think it may be said that he had the power of amplification and of argument almost unequalled by any other great jurist. Erskine spoke on questions involving the liberty of England; he spoke against the rulings of the court, he reformed the law, and enlarged the rights of men and of the press. His was a noble cause, and never came to the bar *a more invincible advocate*. Judges quailed and sank before him. He was fortunate in his time. It was just when England had need of him. Thus he comes down to us the greatest advocate of any age, and his speeches remain the finest models of judicial eloquence to be found in the annals of forensic oratory. But Pinkney had no such course; it was not for him to assert the rights of man, to oppose and set back the tide of oppression by declaring the tyranny of the court, and to renew the fires of liberty on the altars of his country. This had already been more than accomplished for America by a former age, by the revolution, and by Adams and Franklin and Henry. Long-lost liberty had been restored; she came back to us as a goddess from the sea. A new govern-

ment had been organized and established. The Constitution had become the supreme law of the land, and to interpret and harmonize the American federal system of government was the peculiar province of the great American lawyer.

Let us go with Pinkney to the discussions of the senate. He has just taken his seat in January, 1820, when the country was convulsed by the Missouri question. He had come to these halls with the highest reputation for talent; he had "done the state some service" in other departments, and had acquired renown as a diplomatist in foreign courts. Perhaps no man ever entered that senate with so imposing a reputation, and it was a time when those revered halls were resounding with the eloquence of the most gifted orators then upon the stage of public affairs. The state of Missouri was then at the doors of the senate seeking admission into the Union. It was said by the North that she was weighed down with the iron collar of servitude, and her admission must be denied. It was said that she must expurgate herself of slavery, and it was proposed that she should be admitted only upon this condition. Mr. Pinkney made a five hours' speech upon this question, ending the 24th of January. No reporters were present, and this speech was entirely lost. The South resisted the attempt to impose any conditions of admission, and the North declared that the state should come free or not come at all, that no state should be admitted with slavery. Thus the agitation went on. A fearful contest arose, and a tempest swept over the land and shook the Union to its very basis. Every gale from the South met in wild fury the more furious blast from the North, and dismay was seen upon every face. The contest arose to an alarming height. Passions burst into flame, pride no longer heard the voice of reason; for it was the proud contest of sectionalism and power. The spectacle grew appalling, as the old ark of the Union was borne upon the waves of the heaving and swelling ocean; but the old ship "sailed on with upright keel to meet the gales," for it is not "every trifling breeze that can drive her from her moorings, or turn her upon the rocks, or leave her a

sheer hulk afloat upon the ocean," and there to go down amid the wild requiem of the waves. The agitated sea was composed by pouring oil upon the waters of political strife.

Rufus King, of New York, was the veteran senator who led the North in that contest. He had pronounced against the admission of Missouri in an argument believed to be impregnable, and it remained for Mr. Pinkney to attempt a reply. He rose to occupy the senate in a three hours' speech. The senate was filled with no common audience. It was a scene worthy of the greatest orator, such as the senate presented when Webster spoke ten years later. Pinkney, dealing in no sinister auguries, no fearful forebodings, nor in frightful alarms for the Union, rose to vindicate the rights of the infant state. He commenced in a manner so lofty, uttering sentiments so noble and patriotic, pouring forth such a stream of compact logic, that he not only challenged the admiration of all but astonished his great rivals by this wonderful display. He stated the issue with such clearness, he gave such a lucid analysis of the entire question, he enforced his position with such a power of lofty and dignified eloquence, and with such a sustained beauty of utterance and diction, that men were carried along with the mighty argument against their preconceived and long-settled convictions.

No analysis of this argument can do it justice. Indeed, it was never fully reported; but was mainly recovered by Henry Wheaton from the reporters' and Mr. Pinkney's notes. No reporter at that time was adequate to take down the speeches of Pinkney when fully under way, such was his rapid utterance. He spoke to the audience and not to posterity; and so we have nothing but fragments of his eloquence. But we have the undoubted evidence of Clay and Benton as to this wonderful and imposing display; a speech like this had never been pronounced in that senate. In pure logic, it had nothing like it since the days of Charles James Fox.

Thus it is that his greatness is not fully reflected by a body of acts at the bar and in the senate, running through



thirty-three years of busy life ; for there is left us but a brief abstract of all his great actions, and this so meagre and imperfect that, of all his forensic efforts, there is not one of them left us complete. And where are we to look for that body of performances which is to preserve his fame ? Not one performance is complete, not one speech preserved entire. " Like the mutilated Torso exhibiting its broken proportions, everywhere about us are the mighty fragments of his genius." There is little remaining but these fragments of his works to accompany his fame ; and time, the destroyer of all things human, will peradventure wither them up. What little remains may be lost and lost forever ; and his name, should it reach other ages, will go down with that of Story, as Hortensius comes down to us associated with that of Cicero. Though this is not the enduring fame to which he aspired and for which he toiled, yet he could not say with the unfortunate Emmett, that his " ambition was extinguished in his youth ;" nor could he feel like Emmett for the sorrows of the land that bore him ; for the loss of a brother dead, who fell untimely for his country ; nor could he feel the iron that sunk in his soul, while immured in dungeon walls. He could not, like John Wells, realize the pangs of the slain in all his kindred dead ; brothers and sisters, father and mother ; nor was his heart touched with sorrow like that of Curran. No sorrows disturbed his youthful sport and spread a gloom over his early manhood. Premature age came not upon him ; but he went down to the grave in the meridian of life, in the full ripeness of his intellect, and full of honors and full of strength. Death found him in the vigor of manhood jostling on in the rugged paths of fame. Up to the last there was no relaxation of effort at the bar. " My friends," said he, " know not how I toil at the bar, they know not all my anxious days and sleepless nights ; I must breathe awhile ; the bow forever bent will break." He declared that he did not wish to live a moment after the standing he had acquired at the bar was lost or brought into doubt or question. This high and lofty ambition,

this pride in his professional renown, and this love of labor animated him to the last.

It will be seen, by reference to his biography, that his success at the bar was as much owing to his extraordinary labor as to the rare endowments of his mind. His physical power was a remarkable feature of his character and seemed as powerful as his intellect. He was never satisfied in the investigation of his causes, and took infinite pains in exploring their facts and the attending circumstances. He read everything in the law bearing upon the question; and knew in advance the strong and the weak points in his case. He was in the habit of premeditating his arguments, not only as to the method to be observed in treating the subject and the leading topics of illustration, but frequently as to the most rhetorical passages. These passages he sometimes wrote out beforehand; not that he was deficient in fluency, but that he might preserve the command of a correct and elegant diction. He was a consummate master of the arts of debate; and he believed, with the celebrated orators of antiquity, that the habit of composition is necessary to acquire and preserve that style of eloquence that belongs to the great orator. To recover from these labors he relinquished the practice of the law for a time, to recruit his great faculties and replenish that reservoir of professional and elegant acquisition in Europe. But he gave a further reason for going abroad the last time, that he wanted to see Italy; the orators of Britain he had heard, but he wanted to visit that classic land, the study of whose poetry and eloquence was the charm of his life.

Though Pinkney was not so long at the bar as some of his great rivals, yet his supremacy was rarely, if ever, called in question. He certainly had no superior, if it can be said that he had an equal, and his power at the bar was as transcendent at his death as that of Wirt and Webster when they died many years later. Surely Wirt was one of those great men that render an age memorable. He was an able jurist and one of the most accomplished advocates of

the country, and when he spoke there fell from his lips a flood of light. If Pinkney surpassed Wirt and Webster in a purely legal discussion and in the logic of the law, he certainly had some defects as an orator. If you measure them by their influence upon their age, Wirt was the equal, and Webster immeasurably the superior, in consequence of a wide political fame. Pinkney's residence for fifteen years abroad took him from active political life and deprived him of great opportunity. No such clause is made in the life of Webster and Wirt, and they remain his peers in the forum.

These advocates were often associated in great causes, and were also in opposition. This may serve to correct a statement made by his biographer, Mr. Pinkney, that Webster and Pinkney never were opposed in any case. They appeared against each other in the re-argument of the Cohors and Virginia case, which was of considerable importance. They also argued three other causes during the term of 1821 for opposing parties. But nothing is known of these arguments but what is shown in the reports. They doubtless emulated each other and kept a manly bearing. It can hardly be supposed that Webster was as eager "to break a lance" with Pinkney as the restless Wirt; though Wirt said Webster was as ambitious as Cæsar, and would not be outdone by any man if it was within the compass of his power to avoid it.

But let us see how Pinkney rose to that high eloquence and mastery of argument to which tradition and his own fragmentary works assign him. Possessing no early advantages for the acquisition of knowledge and classical learning, he came to manhood with slight attainments, and he afterward, and while at London as American minister, put himself under the instruction of a teacher in the classics, and these early defects were in a measure overcome by intense study and the power of a lofty genius. He rose to fame on the wings of his own ambition, and study directed while power sustained his flight. And his fame was acquired at that bar where no man rises above his real greatness. The eminent lawyer, like the great captain,

must be armed *cap-a-pie*, with sword in hand and armor on, and give no false blows. He must assault, repel attack, beat a retreat, and look well to the centre and wings of his great argument. There is no suspense, no retrieving steps once taken. The great advocate cannot mount the chariot of state and, like Phaëton on that of the sun, drive headlong and wild. He must, like Pinkney, master the law in its reason and philosophy, and come to the exact knowledge of its practical workings. He aimed at the substantial and reached it; yet he possessed a mind too lofty, and too enlightened and improved by culture and taste, to neglect the style of his oratory. Indeed, he was quite as assiduous in its culture as he was ambitious in the mastery of his subject. He did not suppose that beauty and strength of style would detract from the merits of his argument. His mind was not so barren of all taste as to allow such a sentiment to find lodgment in his brain. He did not rely upon genius for his success; he had taken the law to be his province, and acted upon the maxim that there can be "no excellence without great labor." The sculptor does not more completely bring to light the beauties that lie hid in the marble than the qualities of a genius are developed by unremitting toil. So he thought and so he accomplished his great part in life.

He had witnessed the greatest displays of oratory in the parliaments of the old and the new world. He saw Pitt and Fox in their great encounter upon the rejection of Bonaparte's overtures; he most admired Pitt, and thought him unrivalled in living eloquence. Whether he met other orators to rival Pitt in eloquence, in a subsequent day, we know not. His evidence was given in the year 1800. He had not then seen the greatest American orators, such as he afterward met at the bar and in the senate. However, it is recorded by his biographer that he ever regarded Pitt as a wonderful man. He heard Erskine only to imitate, and, if history be true, he returned home with an ambition to establish a higher order of eloquence at the American bar. He studied the decisions of Sir William Scott as great models of judicial eloquence. He

gave his nights to oratory, and daily practised declamation. He studied the English language in its grammar, in its formation and structure, and was able to mould it at will. His knowledge of the language was precise, curious, and exact, and he prided himself on his "English undefiled." He studied the classics of the language that he might improve his style of prose. He admired Milton most, and studied Pope and Johnson. His reading in the great authors was extensive and thorough. He pursued the studies of the law, of literature, and of the language with the greatest assiduity and severest method; but his biographer observes that his profession was the engrossing pursuit of his life, and beyond that his talents shone most conspicuously in those senatorial discussions which fall within the province of the constitutional lawyer. He did much to enlighten and fix the judgments in the decisions of that class of cases "presenting the proud spectacle of peaceful judicial review of the conflicting sovereign claims of the government of the Union and the particular states. He exerted an intellectual vigor proportionate to the magnitude of the occasion, he saw in it a pledge of the immortality of the Union, of a perpetuity of national strength and glory increasing and heightening with age, of concord at home and reputation abroad."

Such was William Pinkney as a jurist, as an orator, and as a statesman, and such was his position at the American bar. To the student of jurisprudence and oratory his fame will be ever dear, and his fragmentary works will receive his careful study; and it will be for all time to come the ambition of all to reach his great eminence at that American bar, where no man can long sustain himself above his actual greatness.

Thus it is seen that the great advocate ministers at the altars of justice, sheds light upon the law and the recorded opinions of the court, gains the applause of his own age, makes his exit, and the "mould gathers upon his memory." Such is the fleeting and unsubstantial fame that awaits the great advocate, and such the melancholy recompense for all his labors and toil.

- ART. VI.—1. *Sophokles, sein Leben und Werken*, etc. (*Sophocles, his Life and Works.*) SCHOELL. Frankfort.
2. *The Tragedies of Sophocles.* Translated into English verse. By the Rev. THOMAS DALE, B.A.
3. *Etudes sur les tragedies grecs.* PATIN. Paris.
4. *Des Sophokles Antigone, Griechisch und Deutsch.* (*The Antigone of Sophocles, Greek and German.*) AUGUST BOCKH. Berlin.
5. *History of the Literature of Ancient Greece.* MÜLLER.

THE poetry of Greece has exercised a marvellous influence. To many it will seem an exaggeration to say that its effect on civilization has been greater than that of the poetry of all other nations; but, nevertheless, such is the fact. Nor is it any disparagement of our modern poets. Every country of Europe has had its great minstrels, and, considering its age and the circumstances in which it is placed, our own country has had its fair share of the poetic spirit. It were a spurious criticism which would ignore the genius and influence of Dante, Milton, Shakspeare, Corneille, Racine, Goëthe, Schiller, Camoens. Civilization is indebted to each and to many more we could mention; all whose minds are cultivated are indebted to them for instruction and delight, although the majority may be unconscious of the fact.

But this is not incompatible with the wonderful power we ascribe to Greek poetry, since there is not one of the modern poets we have mentioned who has not, directly or indirectly, drawn inspiration from it. Even Shakspeare forms no exception, as is sufficiently proved by his 'Troilus and Cressida' and his 'Timon of Athens.' True, the author of 'Hamlet' was not acquainted with the Greek, and many of his admirers think they find in this an unanswerable argument against the study of the classic languages. But had Shakspeare been a Grecian, those dramas would have been very different from what they are, for, grand and capacious as his genius is, it must be admitted that there is not one of the Homeric characters

made use of in his 'Troilus and Cressida' which he has not degraded. His Achilles, Hector, Agamemnon, Andromache, and Helen are as much inferior, respectively, to those of Homer as pigmies are to giants, for the obvious reason that our great tragedian had to study them through a corrupt medium, as if a foreigner would study English from the coachmen, butlers, and chambermaids. Still, no one acquainted with the subject will deny that even Shakspeare has drawn inspiration from Greek poetry, although it reached him only at second-hand. It is not necessary to go beyond his English plays in order to prove this; it is almost sufficient to compare his Cordelia, in King Lear, to Sophocles' Antigone, and the comparison of the brothers of the Greek heroine with the sisters of the English heroine, especially in their treatment of their aged and unfortunate parents, will discover a similarity equally remarkable, as we may take occasion to indicate more particularly before we close.

As for Milton, Racine, and Corneille, their most beautiful and most sublime passages are inspired by the Greek poets—not a few of those passages being directly borrowed, with but very slight modification. Dante, not being sufficiently familiar with the Greek, but thoroughly versed in the Latin, chooses Virgil for his guide in his *Divina Commedia*; he does so, however, with the full consciousness that, undoubtedly beautiful and grand as the *Æneid* is, its noblest materials are those which it has borrowed from the *Iliad*. Nor is it alone our modern poets that have drawn inspiration from the Greek fountain; the greatest of modern orators, historians, and philosophers gratefully acknowledge their indebtedness to the same source.

It is true that the proportion even of the more intelligent class of readers at the present day who can profit directly from Greek poetry are very small; but do the great majority owe nothing to those who have taught their instructors? If we derive pleasure and profit from an engraved copy of a great painting or other noble work of art, does it follow that we



ought to take no thought of the genius that produced the original from which the copy has been taken? Who will say that we ought to throw aside the original and confine our study and admiration to the copy because, although the former may be of more value than the latter, it is too troublesome to study it? It is because no intelligent person can answer these questions in the negative that we turn our attention from time to time to Greek poetry; we do so all the more readily on the present occasion because, unhappily for our civilization, there are so many possessed of power and influence who urge that even our colleges should no longer teach the classic languages, that such teaching is but a waste of time, etc. It is true, that those who adduce such arguments have no knowledge of what they condemn, and that if they had they would recommend rather than condemn it; but if injury is done it is but a slight consolation to those injured that they are the victims of ignorance and imbecility.

It is not necessary to select any one of the great poets of Greece as the subject of our present article in order to show that, high as our estimate is of the value of Greek poetry, we indulge in no undue admiration. We need no nobler vindicator of Greek culture than our present subject. Before we proceed to make any observations on the tragedies of Sophocles, it may be well to remind a portion of our readers that, even so long ago as nearly five hundred years before our era, a liberal education was deemed an essential qualification to obtain eminence in any intellectual pursuit. Nor was it regarded as needless by those who had the care of youth to watch with anxious solicitude the influences by which they were surrounded.

Sophocles was born at Colonus, a small town near Athens, in the first year of the seventy-first Olympiad (B. C. 496.) His father, Sophilus, belonged to an ancient and wealthy family,\* and was one of that class who think that, let their wealth be what it may, they cannot serve their children better than by

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\* Pliny's *Hist. Nat.*, xxxvii., 40.



having them thoroughly educated. Not content with the instruction given at the schools, his father secured for young Sophocles, at the age of sixteen, the services of Lampros, one of the most celebrated teachers of Athens, who was also a poet and musician. The future dramatist, being quite willing to profit by every opportunity afforded him, was not long under the tuition of Lampros when his knowledge of grammar and music gained him many friends as well as admirers among the first citizens of Athens, and it must be remembered that "grammar" and "music" had a much wider signification in the time of Sophocles than they have at the present day. The former embraced general literature, ancient and modern, including history and biography; the latter embraced a thorough knowledge of the laws of versification and euphony, etc.\* At this time gymnastics and dancing were deemed essential accomplishments at Athens; and so much did young Sophocles excel in them, that on several occasions he obtained the prize in each. But he had a nobler ambition than to be satisfied with success in mere physical accomplishments. He was also fond of music, and attained such skill in it that, on the occasion of the Pæan sung by the youth of Athens, in honor of the victory of Salamis, he was awarded the first prize.

But, while enjoying all these triumphs, he was a careful student of philosophy and poetry. While still under the tuition of Lampros, at the age of nineteen, he resolved to devote himself to tragedy, but not until he had written several poetical sketches, which he had submitted anonymously to the best judges, and had elicited much praise; and be it remembered that the Athenian literary tribunal at this time included Socrates, Aristotle, Plato, Pericles, Anaxagoras, Æschylus, and Demosthenes. Such was the class of critics who regarded the earlier poetical efforts of Sophocles as meritorious without knowing who was their author. Still Sophocles knew that he should yet study much before he could compete with

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\* See Beck's *Comment. de lit. et auctoribus Græc.*, etc., p. 47; also Jacob's *Hist. of Greek Poetry*.

Æschylus, who was universally acknowledged as supreme in tragedy. Accordingly, six years intervened before he ventured to make the attempt. The occasion was a peculiar one; the leading men of Athens had returned from the conquest of Sycros, with the bones of Theseus, the founder of Athens, who had died nearly four hundred years previously. The Athenians were so much delighted to have amongst them the bones of the hero, that they instituted games to commemorate their discovery and removal to Athens. At the first of these games the tragic poets were called upon to try their skill; but it was not expected that any one could equal Æschylus. Of what the result was, we have the best authority. "Sophocles, then a young man," says Plutarch, "brought his first piece upon the theatre, and Aphepsion, the archon, perceiving that the audience were not unprejudiced, did not appoint the judges by lot in the usual manner. The method he took was this: when Cimon and his officers had entered the theatre and made the due libations to the god who presided over the games, the archon would not suffer them to retire, but obliged them to sit down and select ten judges upon oath, one out of each tribe. The dignity of the judges caused an extraordinary emulation among the actors. Sophocles gained the prize, at which Æschylus was so much grieved and disconcerted that he could not bear to stay much longer in Athens, but, in anger, retired to Sicily, where he died, and was buried near Gela."\*

There is no doubt that Cimon would have preferred awarding the prize to Æschylus, whose friend and admirer he had long been, and whom he had served and honored while at the head of the government at Athens. And just after gaining so glorious a victory as that of Eurymedon, Cimon might easily have secured the prize for his friend; but it is to his own honor, as well as that of Sophocles, that he did not permit himself to be influenced by his preferences, but declared that superior merit should be the only claim to the prize. It is

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\* Plut. Lives, *Cimon*, 8.

worthy of remark that, although Cimon acknowledged the justice of the decision given by the ten judges, and congratulated the young poet on his great triumph, his esteem and friendship for Æschylus continued undiminished. But a much greater statesman and soldier than Cimon soon became the friend and admirer of Sophocles. Pericles made him one of his own colleagues in the administration of the government, the poet occupying a position corresponding with that of a cabinet minister at the present day. It was the *Antigone* of Sophocles which attracted the attention of Pericles. As all the higher class of Athenians received a military education, all were supposed to be capable of serving as officers in time of war; accordingly, Æschylus, Thucydides, Xenophon, and many other illustrious thinkers, have commanded in battle, and frequently distinguished themselves with the sword as well as the pen. It is not strange, therefore, that when the island of Samos revolted Sophocles was one of the six generals appointed to subdue it; and he was selected by Pericles for the responsible duty of collecting the contingents of Chios and Lesbos. So great was the esteem of Pericles for the author of *Antigone* that, although he soon discovered that the military talents of the poet were by no means brilliant, he preferred to risk the danger of his causing the loss of a battle rather than offend him. According to Guidas, such an occurrence actually took place. Sophocles was placed in command of a fleet ordered to blockade the port of Samos; but he was defeated by Melissus, the philosopher, who happened to be general of the Samians. True, it does not follow that because the poet was defeated by the philosopher the former must have been a bad general or admiral; but the poet Ion relates very humorously in his "Memoirs," quoted by Athenas, that, one day while he dined with Sophocles in Chios, the author of *Antigone* admitted that he had committed some serious blunders during the war, and that his friend Pericles admired his poetry much more than either his military or naval tactics. Be this as it may, it is certain that the poet was subjected

to no humiliation on account of his want of success in the war. Pericles was too wise a statesman not to understand that a great thinker might render important services to his country without being much skilled in the art of war; accordingly, as we have already intimated, Sophocles became a privy counsellor of the first rank to one of the most illustrious statesmen of antiquity.

But it was not alone under the rule of Pericles that the highest honors were conferred on Sophocles. As his works clearly imply, his views on all subjects, both political and religious, were characterized with great moderation. To him it made no difference what party was in power, as long as it pursued a course which he thought right; and if wrong was done it was the individual or individuals he condemned, not the party. He did not always escape censure, however; once, at least, he seems to have merited it; we mean when he joined with his colleagues in agreeing to the usurpation of the Four Hundred. The poet's own explanation is that he did so on the ground of expediency—that he accepted what was bad as there was danger that worse might come. The question is noticed by Aristotle in the form of a brief dialogue which explains itself: “And as to a party drawing his conclusions,” says the Stagirite, “you are to assign the cause; as Sophocles, when questioned by Pisander, whether it had been his opinion, as it had of the other commissioners, to establish the four hundred, acknowledged that he had—‘But how,’ rejoined the other, ‘seemed it not to you to be wrong?’ He said it did. ‘Did you not, then, do that which was wrong?’ ‘Yes, forsooth,’ replied he, ‘*for I had no better alternative.*’”\*

It is but justice to Sophocles, however, to remember that as soon as he saw that the four hundred were disposed to oppress the people, instead of governing them in a liberal and enlightened spirit, as they had promised, he proposed to overthrow them. It is certain, at all events, that he never lost the confidence or esteem of his fellow-citizens of

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\* Aristotle's *Rhet.*, lib. iii., ch. xviii.

any party. He held some important public office or other at all periods of his life subsequent to his victory over Æschylus;\* but, except in time of war, his office was generally a sinecure, it being the chief object of the party in power to place him in a position which would enable him to live comfortably, and at the same time have abundant leisure to perform his literary labors. It is sufficiently evident that had he been obliged to devote much time to official duties he could not have produced, as Suidas tells us, one hundred and twenty-three tragedies; still more unlikely is it that he could have obtained the first prize twenty times—seven prizes more than Æschylus, and at least a dozen more than Euripides.

Thus we see how the republic of Athens honored and encouraged literature nearly five hundred years before our era. Although Pericles was the greatest friend of Sophocles among all who were in power in the poet's time, the political opponents of the former were not unfriendly to the latter; and as we have already alluded to the similar encouragement afforded to Æschylus by the ruling power, we may remark, in passing, that no other republic has done so much for literature as that of Athens, and we need hardly add that, accordingly, no other republic has produced such immortal works.

There are none of the great thinkers of antiquity more highly spoken of by their contemporaries than Sophocles; but his greatest admirers do not deny that he had faults. No such independent thinker as he has ever lived without creating enemies. Jealousy alone would sufficiently account for this. Hence it is that there are biographers and historians who represent Sophocles as avaricious—especially in the decline of life—willing to do almost anything for money. The only foundation for so grave a charge is, that the chiefs of all parties favored the poet, as we have said, with sinecures.

Were it necessary to adduce any proof in vindication of Sophocles, it would be sufficient to call attention to the charge of insanity made against him by his own sons, on no other ground

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\* See *Plut. in Nicias*, ch. 15.

than that he became so much absorbed in his writings that he entirely neglected his domestic affairs. It is by no means characteristic of a miser to have an undue fondness for reading and writing, and the work in which Sophocles had been engaged when the charge of insanity was preferred against him was his *Œdipus Colonus*. The only defence the poet made was to read a few passages from his new tragedy, commencing at verse 668, embracing one of the most beautiful descriptions ever written—a description by the chorus of the delightful scenery of his native village. The judges were so much delighted that, not content with dismissing the charge as utterly unfounded, they rose from the bench and accompanied the venerable poet to his home, declaring that they honored themselves and vindicated justice in honoring Sophocles thus.

The sons capable of such conduct have been universally condemned in all succeeding ages; but there are some biographers who claim that there were extenuating circumstances in their case. It is alleged that Sophocles was so fond of an illegitimate son of his who bore his own name, that he wished to have him recognized in the courts as a citizen of Athens, in order that he might bequeath him a full share of his property. This naturally irritated his legitimate son, Iophon, and hence the charge of insanity. Different versions of the case are given by different authors. Some maintain that only one son was guilty of so unfilial and unworthy an act.\*

But this reminds us of another charge made against Sophocles; it is represented that he had an undue fondness for the sex; and it must be admitted that this has much more foundation than any other charge. Even in extreme old age the poet seems to have been more susceptible than would become a philosopher, if it be true, as we are told, that at the age of eighty he was unable to resist the charms of a Theoris and an Archippe.† Whether this be strictly true or not, it is

\* Vide Cicero, *De Senect.*, 7; Plutarch, *An Seni sit Resp. gerenda*, c. 3; Apuleius, *Apol.*; Lucian, *Maerob.*, 24.

† Vide *Athen.*, 13, p. 603.

beyond dispute that for the most of his life the author of *Œdipus* had the reputation of being rather amorously inclined; but the most severe moralists, both male and female, seem to have connived at his transgressions in this direction. Even the philosophers were willing to admit that some allowance ought to be made for the characteristic sins of Sophocles. That they were characteristic we have many evidences; but we need only quote one authority. Plato, in discussing the difference between youth and old age in regard to the enjoyment of pleasure, makes one of his interlocutors speak as follows: "To me, however, Socrates, these men seem not to blame the real cause, for if this were the cause I myself likewise should have suffered these very same things through old age—and all others likewise who have come to these years. Now I have met with several not thus affected; and particularly I was once in company with Sophocles, the poet, when he was asked by some one: 'How,' said he, 'do you feel, Sophocles, as to the pleasures of love? Are you *still* able to enjoy them?' 'Softly, friend,' replied he; 'most gladly, indeed, have I escaped from these pleasures as from some furious and savage master.'"<sup>\*</sup>

Such is the testimony of one who, for what he has done for the enlightenment of the human mind, has been called the Divine. But it was after the declaration quoted by the philosopher that Sophocles allowed himself, after all, to be smitten by the charms of Theoris and Archippe. Besides there are many passages in his tragedies which flatly contradict the theory of Socrates and Plato as accepted by the poet himself. Thus, as an instance, we give a prose translation of the sentiment which he puts into the mouth of the Messenger in his *Antigone*. "For when a man loses the pleasures of life *I do not consider him to live*, but look upon him as *the living dead*. Let him have great wealth, if you choose, in his house, and live with the outward splendor of a king; but if joy be wanting to these I would not purchase the rest *with the*

<sup>\*</sup> *The Republic of Plato*, b. 1, c. iii.



*shadow of smoke compared with the real pleasures.*"\* We leave it to the octogenarians among our readers to decide whether this is true or not, or whether they regard their past or present love for woman as such a frightful "savage!"

But it was not alone with the beautiful and gifted of the fair sex that Sophocles maintained a good understanding to the last. All reliable authorities agree in representing him as superior to all those passions that turn man against man. That he was neither envious nor jealous would be sufficiently manifest from his conduct to his rivals, had we no other testimony as to the gentleness and benevolence of his disposition. Although he conquered Æschylus he continued his friend to the last; he even tried to dissuade him from leaving Athens; nor was he less generous in his conduct toward his younger rival, Euripides. No poet was ever more beloved by the Athenians; they admired him more than all others. Yet he was a stranger to pride, arrogance, and vanity. In short, he was just such a man as we should expect from his immortal works, although it may be said that none of their grandeur or sublimity characterized his life.

We are aware that most of our readers are acquainted to a greater or less extent with the tragedies of Sophocles, but we fear that very few appreciate them according to their merits. It may as well be admitted that none of the Greek poets are studied in this country as they should, or as they are studied in the principal countries of Europe. Even in translation they are but little read with us, and this neglect will continue until they are studied more extensively and more thoroughly in the original. Just in proportion as the original works are studied will there be a demand for translations, and *vice versa*. At all events the tragedies of Sophocles, like great works of art, are always a source of instruction and pleasure even to those who are most

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\* Τὰς γὰρ ἡδονὰς  
ὅταν προδωσιν ἄνδρες, οὐ τίθηναι ἔγωγε  
ὅν τούτων ἀλλ' ἐμψυχον ἡγουμαι νεκρόν.

— *Antig.* 1167.



familiar with them. The noblest productions of the great masters in painting and sculpture are not more worthy of admiration than these master-pieces of the Greek muse.

In the original, they are everywhere accepted, and have been for more than two thousand years, as models of beauty and sublimity; in translations, indeed, much of their beauty and sublimity is lost. Still there is enough of each left to render it worth while to read even the most defective versions. Accordingly we now proceed to present to our readers such passages from the tragedies of Sophocles as, in our opinion, will best serve to illustrate our impressions of the author's characteristics. But it will be understood that the limits of a review article, a considerable portion of which is already occupied with these introductory remarks, will preclude us from giving such an analysis as would indicate the circumstances under which the language quoted has been used; and we need not say how much any work suffers by being exhibited in unconnected fragments. First we will extract a portion of the passage alluded to above as having been read to the judges by the author when he was over eighty years of age, in order to refute the charge of insanity preferred against him by his sons. We must content ourselves with two stanzas of one of the finest descriptive odes ever written, that commencing:

Εὐίππον, ξένε, τᾷσδε χώραις  
ἶκον τὰ κράτιστα γῆς ἑπαύλα,

STROPHE I.

“ Well did Fate thy wanderings lead,  
Stranger, to this field of fame,  
Birth-place of the generous steed,  
Graced by white Colonus' name.  
Frequent in the dewy glade  
Here the nightingale is dwelling;  
Through embowering ivy's shade,  
Here her plaintive notes are swelling;  
Through yon grove from footsteps pure,  
Where unnumbered fruits are blushing—  
From the summer sun secure,  
Screened from wintry whirlwinds rushing;

Where, with his fostering nymphs, amid the grove,  
The sportive Bacchus joys to revel or to rove."

ANTISTROPHE.

"Bathed in heaven's ambrosial dew,  
Here the fair narcissus flowers,  
Graced each morn with clusters new,  
Ancient crown of mightiest powers;  
Here the golden crocus blows;  
Here exhaustless fountains gushing,  
Where the cool Cephissus flows,  
Restless o'er the plains are rushing;  
Ever, as the crystal flood  
Winds in pure transparent lightness;  
Fresher herbage decks the sod,  
Flowers spring forth in lovelier brightness;  
Here dance the Muses; and the Queen of Love  
Oft guides her golden car through this enchanting grove."

This is Dale's translation—the best within our reach; but it is stiff and cumbrous compared to the radiant, graceful, and musical utterances of the original.

The *Œdipus Tyrannus*, *Antigone*, and *Œdipus Colonus*, the best known of the seven of Sophocles' tragedies now extant, are, in general, considered as a trilogy, because the three are founded on the same events, the principal *dramatis personæ*, being also the same. Each is, however, entirely independent of the rest, although it is also true that each serves to a greater or less extent to illustrate the other two. No more startling or more tragic subject could have been conceived than that of *Œdipus Tyrannus*. *Œdipus* was said to be the illegitimate child of *Laius*, the king of Corinth. Mortified at being considered and treated as a bastard, he left his native country and went to Thebes. Here he interpreted the riddle of the Sphinx, and, as a reward, received the hand of the queen, *Jocasta*, in marriage. Soon after a plague broke out which committed frightful ravages. The oracle of Delphi being interrogated, declared that the pestilence was caused by the presence in the capital of the murderer

of the late king of Thebes. Œdipus did all in his power to discover the criminal, and from the statements of Tiresias, a priest and prophet, corroborated by certain servants of the victim, he made the fearful discovery that he had done the deed himself—that he had murdered his own father—and that the queen, with whose hand he was rewarded, was no other than his own mother, Jocasta. On the facts being revealed, Jocasta hangs herself, and Œdipus tears out his eyes in a fit of remorse and despair. After the plague has continued its ravages for some time, growing more and more destructive from day to day, a deputation from the afflicted citizens, headed by the priest of Jupiter, waits on the king, who is deeply affected, and the priest describes the pestilence as follows:

“O Œdipus, imperial lord of Thebes!

Thou seest our sad estate, and how we sit  
Before thine altars; some, whose callow wings  
Refuse a lengthened flight;—some, bowed with age,  
Priests of the gods,—myself the priest of Jove,  
And some, the flower of all our Theban youth.  
Another band their suppliant boughs extend  
At the two fanes of Pallas, and the shrine  
Oracular, by fair Ismenus' stream.  
The state—as thou may'st witness—with the storm  
Is struggling, and *in vain essays to rear*  
*Her head emergent from the blood-stained wave,*  
*Her fruits are blasted in the opening bud;*  
Her herds, infected, perish; her weak births  
Are blighted immature. The fiery god,  
Loathed Pestilence, o'er this devoted city  
Hangs imminent, and desolates th' abode  
Of Cadmus, while in shrieks and piercing groans  
Dark Pluto richly revels. Hence I bend,  
With these sad youths, a suppliant at thine altars;  
Not that we deem thee equal to the gods,  
But in the sad vicissitudes of life,  
Or visitations of the angry gods,  
Account thee first of men. At Thebes arriving,  
Thou didst redeem us from the tax imposed  
By that relentless monster, uninformed,

Untaught of us; by pitying heaven alone  
 We deem thee sent our glory to restore.  
 Now, worthiest *Œdipus*! on thee we fix  
 Our supplicating eyes—O find us aid,  
 Or from the sure responses of the gods,  
 Or man's experienced wisdom."

The reply of the king is all the more tender and pathetic from the fact that the frightful suspicion of his own guilt has already seized him. Passing over many noble passages, we come to the scene in which *Œdipus* inquires, in despair, of *Jocasta*, concerning the appearance and age of *Laius*.

- "*Œl.* Almighty Jove! to what hast thou reserved me?  
*Jove.* My *Œdipus*, what means this wild dismay?  
*Œl.* Oh, ask not, ask not, tell me of this *Laius*.  
 What was his aspect, what his age? O speak!  
*Jove.* His port was lofty; the first snows of age  
 Had tinged his locks, his form resembled thine.  
*Œl.* Wretch that I am, on mine own head, it seems,  
 Have I called down this dread, destroying curse.  
*Jove.* How say'st thou, King! I tremble to behold thee.  
*Œl.* I fear the prophet saw, alas! too clearly.  
 One question more, and all will be disclosed.  
*Jove.* I tremble, but will truly tell thee all."

He has still a faint hope that it was some other man he slew—not his father. There is only one person who can relieve his despair—the herdsman, who saw the deed committed. He has to be sent for; but all the circumstances seem to show that it is of no use. While writhing under this terrible suspense he gives expression to sentiments which are highly interesting and instructive, as well as pathetic; showing, as they do, that pagans as the ancient Greeks were they held murder, especially parricide, in the greatest abhorrence:

—"But if this stranger prove  
 The murdered *Laius*, who of all mankind  
 Exists more deeply wretched than myself,  
 Oh! who more hateful to the avenging gods?  
 Nor citizen, nor stranger to my need  
 Henceforth may grant the refuge of a home;

None may accost, but all must spurn me from them ;  
 And I, O ! how unconscious, on myself  
 Invoked the withering curse. I, by whose hand  
 His blood was shed, pollute his nuptial couch :—  
 Am I not all abandoned, all defiled ?  
 If I must fly, and, flying, ne'er behold  
 My best-loved friends, or tread my natal earth,  
 Or else am doomed, in most unnatural ties,  
 To wed my mother, and my father slay.  
 Good Polybus, who gave me life and nurture,  
 Would he not rightly judge, who deemed these woes  
 The work of some inexorable god ?  
 Never, O never, ye most holy powers,  
 May I behold that day. O may I sink  
 To death's more friendly darkness, ere my life  
 Be marked and sullied by a stain so foul."

When Œdipus sees his own inevitable fall approaching, his keenest grief after all is not for himself, but for his daughters, Antigone and Ismene, who always proved as faithful and affectionate to him as his sons proved ungrateful and cruel. We have already alluded to the resemblance between the Œdipus Colonus and King Lear in these circumstances ; most striking is the resemblance between Antigone and Cordelia. And if either possesses any superiority over the other as a model of filial tenderness and piety it is certainly to the Greek heroine that distinction must be awarded. But let those who are so fond of representing that in the ancient world the women were no better than slaves read even a fragment of the dethroned king's appeal to his successor in behalf of his two daughters :

"As for my children—for my sons, O Creon,  
 Take no solicitude—for they are men—  
 Where'er they roam, they cannot feel the pangs  
 Of piercing penury.—But, O ! my daughters !—  
 My much-loved daughters !—in the weak estate  
 Of virgin helplessness—who never dwelt  
*Apart from their loved father, and with whom  
 I ever shared my pomp—my joy—my all—*  
 Be these thy constant care, and grant me now  
 To clasp them and bewail our common woes."

Nothing could exceed the skill with which the poet unravels the mystery step by step, while his auditors become more and more doubtful and anxious until the frightful catastrophe is reached, when *Œdipus* enters the apartment in which *Jocasta* had committed suicide; puts out his own eyes on seeing her, and then departs a miserable outcast from his home and family, led along by his daughter, *Antigone*, who clings to him and loves him all the more on account of the depth of hopeless misery to which he has fallen.

Nor is this fine tragedy merely startling, pathetic, and beautiful; calculated to awaken the deepest interest of the audience; it has also the advantage of an impressive moral, for there is no more striking example of the instability of human greatness than *King Œdipus*.

In the *Œdipus Colonus* we find the king banished from Thebes. He seeks an asylum in Athens, with no means of existence but what his daughter, *Antigone*, begs for him. *Creon*, who is now in possession of his throne, attempts to carry him back to Thebes, in order that he may imprison or slay him, lest at some future time he might disturb his reign; *Œdipus* implores the protection of *Theseus*, the king of Athens, who readily grants him the rights of hospitality. The citizens, however, are rather afraid that he will bring a curse upon them if permitted to remain. While the question of allowing him an asylum is still undecided, *Antigone* appeals to the chorus in an address whose exquisite and touching pathos has rarely been equalled even by the Greek muse:

"O venerable strangers, though ye shrunk  
Recoiling from the tale  
Of my poor, aged sire,  
Speaking of dark, involuntary deeds,  
I do conjure you, turn not thus from me,  
Me, while in suppliant anguish I implore  
Compassion for a father, and regard  
Your steadfast gaze with unaverted eye."

•  
"Ο ξένοι  
αἰδοφρονες, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ  
πατέρα γεραίον τόνδ' ἔμην  
οὐκ ἀνέτλατ' ἔργων  
δκόντων δλοντες αὐδάν.—V. 236-411.

Ah! deem me now as one  
 Of your own kindred, and let pity wake  
 To aid the lost. On you, as on the gods,  
 Our hopes depend. Oh! then relent, and grant  
 This unexpected boon.  
 I here adjure you, *by each hallowed tie,*  
*Your child, your wife, your duty, and your God,*  
 Where will ye find the man who can escape,  
 When Fate's stern hand constrains him to despair?"

Humiliated, and full of grief and despair as Œdipus is, he still retains the royal spirit. When Creon reproaches him and attempts to have him brought back to Thebes as a convict he replies as follows, denouncing him severely, and at the same time maintaining, what all the circumstances tend to prove, namely, that all his crimes were involuntary; that it had been ordained by Fate, before he was born, that he should commit them—in short, that they were the results of a curse which it was impossible for him to avoid:

"Unblushing villain! dost thou think to pour  
 Contempt on mine old age or thy own  
 With these upbraidings, while thou tell'st a tale  
 Of murder, incest, misery, and despair,  
 Which I, oh how unwillingly! endured?  
 Such was the will of heaven, against my house  
 Incensed, perchance, for unrepented crimes.  
 Thou canst not prove, that by a wilful deed  
 I merited such evil, or involved  
 Myself, my race, in guilt so dark as this.  
 Say, if thou canst, since by the voice divine  
 I was foredoomed a father's murderer,—  
 Say, how can justice brand me with such deed,  
 Whose doom was presaged ere my life began?  
 If—born to woe—as I, alas! was born,  
 In chance encounter met I slew my sire,  
 Unknowing what I did or whom I slew,  
 Canst thou revile me for unconscious crimes?  
 And, oh thou wretch! doth it not shame even thee  
 Thus to constrain me but to speak of her,  
 My wife, my mother, and thy sister, too?"

If the insults of Creon are base, seeing that he is so near

a kinsman, still baser and more reprehensible are those of *Œdipus*' own sons, and he denounces them accordingly with greater vehemence, as may be seen from his reply to the reproaches of *Polynices*. It will be seen that in this he contrasts the conduct of his daughters with that of his sons, again reminding the English reader of the difference between *Cordelia* and her sisters :

"Such were the curses of my first despair ;  
Such now, with keener hatred I invoke  
To wreak my vengeance, that ye late may learn  
The reverence due to parents ; nor, though blind,  
With causeless insult round a powerless father.  
My gentle daughters never acted thus.  
For this, on thy proud throne and royal seat,  
Shall sit th' avenging curse, if Justice, famed  
Of old, by Jove's august tribunal throned,  
Maintain the ancient laws unbroken still.  
Hence to thy doom, accursed ! I disclaim  
A father's part in thee, thou scorn of men ;  
And with thee bear the curse I call to blast thee ;  
That thou may'st ne'er thy rightful throne regain,  
And never to the *Argive* vales return ;  
But fall unpitied by a kindred hand,  
Requiting first thine exile by his death.  
Thus do I curse thee : and I here invoke  
Dark *Erebus*, the hated Sire of Hell,  
To give thee dwelling in his deepest gloom ;—  
These venerable Powers, and mighty *Mars*,  
Whose anger cursed thee with this deadly feud."

Of a different character is the lamentation of *Antigone* over *Œdipus* when he perishes in the sacred grove. The translation of which we have at hand is, indeed, by no means good ; it is far too stiff—too meagre ; but the worst version of it that has ever been given to the public is not entirely devoid of beauty and pathos. This shows at least how much the ancients are wronged by those who charge them with degrading woman, and not recognizing her as capable of being the companion of man :



"Alas! I only wish I might have died  
With my poor father; wherefore should I ask  
For longer life?  
O, I was fond of misery with him;  
E'en what was most unlovely grew beloved  
When he was with me. O, my dearest father,  
Beneath the earth now in deep darkness hid,  
Worn as thou wert with age, to me thou still  
Wert dear, and shall be ever,  
Even as he wished he died,  
In a strange land—for such was his desire—  
A shady turf covered his lifeless limbs,  
Nor unlamented fell! for O these eyes,  
My father, still shall weep for thee, nor time  
E'er blot thee from my memory."

But it is in the tragedy which bears her own name that the character of Antigone as a true woman is fully developed. The argument of the piece is very simple: Polynices waged war against his brother, Eteocles, and Thebes, his country. The brothers meet in battle and kill each other. The attempt to cause a revolution in Thebes fails. Creon the king issues an edict forbidding all Thebans from honoring Polynices with the rites of burial on pain of death. Antigone, though fully aware of the danger, buries him herself. The guards discover her, and although the king's son, Hæmon, to whom she is betrothed, intercedes for her she is condemned to be buried alive. Hæmon on finding her dead commits suicide, and the wife of the tyrant commits suicide also, being unwilling to survive the death of her son. The drama opens with Antigone and Ismene deploring the misfortunes of their house. Antigone is overwhelmed with grief at the edict of Creon; but she resolves to incur the penalty of death rather than see her brother's remains desecrated. She makes known her resolution to her sister Ismene, who, on account of the danger, advises her against it, but she rejects her counsel with scorn:

"For a deed like this,  
Oh what were death but glory? I shall rest  
Beloved with him I love, my last, sad duty  
Boldly discharged. Our latest, longest home

I with the dead; and therefore would I please  
The lifeless, not the living."

Ismene, finding that she is resolved, begs her to be secret, adding that she will not reveal the deed. This excites the anger of Antigone; she gets into a violent passion; but still it is the passion of a woman; she knows the enterprise she has undertaken is unlawful and dangerous; but she feels that religion and sisterly affection demand it of her, nevertheless, as a duty. Accordingly she goes twice to cover her brother's corpse; the second time she is made a prisoner of and brought before Creon, who asks if the deed was hers:

*Antig.* I did it, I say it openly, and deny it not.

*Creon.* And was the edict known to you?

*Antig.* Known! how could it be otherwise? Was it not public?

*Creon.* And this law you have dared transgress?

The reply she makes is probably the noblest appeal to a "higher power" ever made; it shows that such an appeal is of much higher antiquity than some of our politicians would have the world believe. Franklin was so delighted with it that he translated it with much care, and his version which we here subjoin is one of the best that has been made of it:

"I had it not from Jove, nor the just gods  
Who rule below; nor could I ever think  
A mortal's law of power or strength sufficient  
To abrogate the unwritten law divine,  
Immutable, eternal, not like these  
Of yesterday; but made ere time began."

When Hæman hears that his betrothed is a prisoner, he comes to intercede for her. Creon asks him if he is leagued against his father; Hæman replies dutifully. The former makes a long speech in which he describes the pangs of a

° However, neither Franklin, nor any other English translator; has approached the earnest, solemn energy of the original:

Ὅτ' γὰρ τί μοι Ζεὺς ἦν ὁ κηρύξας τάδε  
οὐδ' ἡ ξύνοικος τῶν κάτω θεῶν Δίκη,  
οὐδὲ σθένειν τοσούτου φόβῳ τὰ σά  
κηρύγμαθ' ὅσθ' ἄγραπτα κἀσφαλῆ θεῶν  
νόμιμα δέκασθαι θεῶν δὲν ὑπερδραμεῖν.

father whose child is ungrateful, taking occasion also to point out the danger of being influenced by a worthless woman; in conclusion he exhorts Hæman to cast off Antigone—that her doom is sealed. Hæman defends his betrothed and advises his father to forgive her. The tyrant becomes furious. “Shall I at my age learn of thee?” “Look at the advice and not at the age of the adviser.” This increases the anger of the king :

“*Creon.* Does the power of the state belong to me or to another ?

*Hæman.* The state that belongs to one is not a state !”

*Creon.* Is not the state the property of the ruler ?

*Hæman.* Well, you may rule alone—*over a desert !*”†

\* \* \* \* \*

“*Creon.* Infamous son ! to dispute with a father respecting right.

*Hæman.* Yes ; for I see you wandering from the right.

*Creon.* And do I err, in holding my office of ruler sacred ?

*Hæman.* Yes ; it is not sacred when trampling on the honors of the gods.”

But we might fill pages with passages showing how well the duties appertaining to all the relations of life were understood and appreciated by the ancient Greeks. Although we have only glanced at three of Sophocles’ dramas in this article we have shown how correct were the views of that great people, not only in regard to their moral and religious duties but also their political duties and rights, even when the latter were sought to be infringed upon by unjust laws. But, more than this, no people had a more elevated conception of public honesty and good faith. It is universally admitted that no dramatist or poet has portrayed the Athenians more truthfully than Sophocles, or given a more correct estimate of the public sentiment amongst them. It is precisely because he embodies their sentiments so faithfully that he continued so popular with all classes throughout his long life. Besides the noble precepts and aspirations we have already indicated, and which at the present day are generally ascribed to much more recent poets and orators, we could point out many others without going beyond the three dramas we have thus rapidly glanced at.

¶ Πόλις γὰρ οὐκ ἔσθ’ ἥτις ἀνδρός ἔσθ’ ἐνός.—V. 736

† Καλῶς ἐρήμης γ’ ἂν σὺ γῆς ἀρχοῖς μόνος.—V. 739.

But our article has already become much longer than we had intended. We will, however, give one other example of Sophoclean sentiments than which none nobler have ever been uttered by man in ancient or modern times. That the following, from the *Œdipus Tyrannus*, is of that character will be readily admitted; those who read it carefully, especially if they compare it with the original, which we transcribe at the bottom of the page, will acknowledge that no modern poet has compressed so much moral and religious grandeur and beauty into a single stanza: "O for a spotless purity of action and of speech, according to those sublime laws of right which have the heavens for their birthplace and God alone for their author—which the decays of mortal nature cannot vary nor time cover with oblivion; for the divinity is mighty within them and waxes not old!"

In a future article we mean to point out some of the beauties of Sophocles' *Ajax*, *Electra*, *Trachinian Women*, and *Philoctetes*. These are but little read at the present day even in the best colleges; although each has had a host of imitators in every enlightened country. This is particularly true of "The Trachinian Women," which has been imitated by Seneca in his *Hercules Furens*, by Retron in his *Hercule Mourant*, etc. Had Sophocles written no other tragedies than these four they would have fully vindicated his claim to the character of the Attic Bee, from the large amount of intellectual honey which they contain as well as from the beauty and elegance of their style. We may add, in conclusion, that they would also have entitled him to the fine tribute of Simmias the Theban, of which the following is a translation:

"Wind, gentle evergreen, to form a shade  
Around the tomb where Sophocles is laid:  
Sweet ivy, wind thy boughs and intertwine  
With blushing roses and the clustering vine:  
Thus will thy lasting leaves with beauties hung  
Prove grateful emblems of the lays he sung.  
Whose soul, exalted by the god of wit,  
Among the Muses and the Graces writ!"

- ART. VII.—1. *Nubia and Abyssinia—comprehending their civil history, antiquities, arts, religion, literature, and natural history.* By the Rev. MICHAEL RUSSELL, LL.D. New York. 1833.
2. *Historia Geral de Ethiopia.* Par J. T. DOS SANTOS. Evora, 1609. In fol.
3. *Relation Historique de l'Abyssinie, traduit du Portugais de Lobo.* Par LEGRAND. Paris. 1728. In 4 vols.
4. *Narrative of the British Mission to Theodore, King of Abyssinia* By MARMUZD RASSARN, F.R.G.S., First Assistant Political President at Aden in charge of the mission. In 2 vols. London. 1869.
5. *Relation du Révérend Patriarche d'Ethiope.* Par MENDERY. Traduit du Portugais. Lille. 1633.
6. *Journal of Three Years' Residence in Abyssinia.* By Rev. SAMUEL GOBAT, Bishop of Jerusalem. New York. 1850.
7. *Materiaux pour l'Histoire du Christianisme en Egypte, en Nubie, et en Abyssinie.* Par M. LETRONNE. Paris. 1842. In 4 vols.

THE curiosity and astonishment of the christian world have recently been aroused by the efforts made by a certain class of enthusiasts within the pale of the Church of England to induce the heads of that institution to enter into amicable relations with the abuna or head of the Church of Abyssinia. At a time of general expansion of ideas, like the present, it is not surprising that so aristocratic and exclusive a church as that of England should feel its isolation from the great bulk of christendom, and should experience some slight desire to be recognized by outsiders as having a vitality and an independent character of its own, professing

a disinclination to be on friendly terms with the Church of Rome, although containing within its bosom a considerable number of men, many of them men of deep piety and profound learning, who would gladly bring about a reconciliation with the mother church, the Church of England has been, as it were, coquetting with the Greek church, and putting out its feelers to discover what chance there was of meeting with favor from that distant communion.

Now, the Greek church is rather schismatic than heretical; there is no very serious disagreement between it and the Church of Rome as to doctrine, the principal difference being found in the ritual of the two churches and in their discipline and government. Consequently there is something illogical in the reasoning which would justify the church of England, whose ritual and discipline differ from both, and whose doctrines also differ in some material points from those of the Greek and the Roman churches, in seeking to be on friendly terms with the one but not with the other. When the Syrian archbishop, Lyeurges, was in London not long since, he was feasted and welcomed in a manner which must surely have appeared to him unaccountable on any ordinary theory. All the dignitaries of the Anglican church hastened to do him honor, and the dean of Westminster tried his hand at some Greek phrases, which, being based upon the ancient university system of colloquial Greek with an English pronunciation, must have been about as intelligible to him as Chinese would have been; he acknowledged the compliment, however, in the best *French* he could command.

This movement towards friendly communion with the Greek church was supplemented by another towards the same thing with the Abyssinian. Probably the recent military expedition to Abyssinia, which brought the English into immediate contact with the natives, had much to do with it. They were continually meeting there with persons calling themselves christians, and using phrases similar to those used in European

churches and communities, and the Emperor Theodore professed himself a christian. The laws of the country were, it was said, based upon christianity, and the line of the Abyssinian monarchs was traced back to Solomon. All this had been known previously, from the reports of the early missionaries of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and from the subsequent narratives of Bruce, Salt, Gobat, Lobo, Telley, Maillet, Alvarez, Isenberg, Krapp, and others, who visited the country and resided in it a considerable time; but it is only recently that the attention of English proselytizers has been seriously called to the condition of this ancient christian church, and that public curiosity has been aroused as to the abuna and his hierarchy. There are some who think that England did not act wisely in not retaining possession of Abyssinia after the death of Theodore and the dispersion of his forces; but this is not a question which we intend to discuss at present. The question with us just now is, what affinity is there between the Anglican and the Abyssinian churches?

In order to answer this question understandingly, it will be necessary to go back to the beginning and see on what foundation the Abyssinian church has been raised. There is an extraordinary mixture of tradition, superstition, truth, falsehood, and anachronism, in the annals of Ethiopia, which renders it difficult to discover what is authentic. Modern Abyssinia is an empire of considerably less extent than it was in ancient times. There is every probability that in the earliest recorded ages it was a portion of the vast empire of Ethiopia, which extended from the frontiers of Upper Egypt to the sources of the Nile, and from the Red sea to the great Desert of Sahara. We learn from Egyptian history that the Ethiopians more than once successfully invaded Egypt, and furnished princes to some of the dynasties of that country. There has been considerable dispute as to whether the land spoken of in Scripture as "Cush" was Ethiopia or Arabia; but it has only an indirect bearing on our present subject, and we may leave it out of consideration. What we have mainly to do with is the alleged

intercourse between the Abyssinians and the Hebrews; for from the latter the former assert that they have derived some of their religious rites and tenets.

The first incident we meet with in ancient history regarding this intercourse is recorded by Eusebius\* and by Josephus.† According to these authors, the Ethiopians invaded Lower Egypt while Moses was there, and penetrated as far as Memphis, defeating the Egyptians with great slaughter. The latter, consulting their oracles, were advised to put a Hebrew at the head of their forces and march against the enemy. They accordingly applied to Moses, who accepted the commission, having full liberty to act as he should think best. He thereupon assumed command of the Egyptian army, gave the enemy the slip, and advanced by an indirect route to Meroë, the capital of Ethiopia, which he besieged. The story runs that the king of Ethiopia's daughter, witnessing the bravery of Moses, fell in love with him, and offered to betray the city to him if he would marry her. He consented, married the princess, got possession of Meroë, and put numbers of the inhabitants to the sword. He ravaged the whole country and destroyed all its fortresses; and after remaining master of it ten years he returned to Egypt with great glory.‡ This legend is upon a par with other oriental fictions relating to the great Hebrew law-giver, and would scarcely be worthy of notice, but that it tends to show that the Ethiopians, among whom were the Abyssinians, claim to have been in intimate relation with the Hebrews from the remotest times. Indeed, they assert that they are descendants of the Arabian Cushites, who, in the days of Moses, crossed over from Arabia into Ethiopia. These people were called Abaseni or Abassinea, and the eminent French linguist and antiquary, Bochart, has traced Arabic words in the names of several places in Abyssinia.§ The Arabian Cushites claimed to be descendants of Cush, the eldest son of Ham.

\* *De Prep. Evang.*, lib. ix., c. 4.

† *Antiquitates*, lib. ii., c. 10.

‡ George Cedrenas, *Hist. Compend.*, p. 48.

§ *Phal.*, lib. iv., c. 2; lib. ii., c. 23.



A long interval of time occurs between the invasion of Ethiopia by Moses and the visit of the Queen of Sheba to Solomon, which is the next recorded incident relating to communication between the Abyssinians and the Hebrews. The Abyssinians are firmly persuaded that the Queen of Sheba, spoken of in scripture, who had an interview with Solomon, reigned over Ethiopia. Josephus, indeed, says that she governed Egypt as well as Ethiopia,\* but this assertion is repugnant to the whole stream of sacred and profane antiquity. The Abyssinians have a history of her, written in full, but interspersed with fables. The substance of it is as follows : Makeda (which according to them was her name), receiving an account from Tamerin, an Ethiopian merchant, of the surprising power and wisdom of Solomon, took a journey to Jerusalem to ascertain the truth of this report. She was attended by a number of her nobility, and carried with her a variety of the most magnificent presents. After she had been instructed at Jerusalem in the worship of the true God, she returned home and within the space of a year brought forth a son begotten by Solomon, who named him David, but he was called by his mother and her subjects Menelech, or Menilehech, which signifies "another self." He received his education at Solomon's court, and was accompanied home by many doctors of the Jewish law and Israelites of distinction, and particularly by Azariah, the son of Zadak the high priest. By the assistance of these Hebrew attendants he established in Ethiopia the religion professed by his father, and there it remained in force until that kingdom embraced christianity. The Arabs and the Abyssinians have given the princess above-mentioned several names, as Makeda, Balhis, Belhis or Bulhis, and Neghesta Azeb (*i.e.*, Queen of the South, as she is styled in Scripture†). The Abyssinians pretend that their kings are descended in a right line from Menelech, and even most of the noble families in Abyssinia to this day trace their respective pedigrees up to Solomon.

\* *Antiq.*, l. viii., c. 5.

† *Matt.*, c. xii., v. 42.

Whatever may be the defects in the historical evidence required to sustain this story, there really seems to be nothing improbable in it. In Solomon's time the Jews carried on commerce with most of the then known countries of the earth, and the Arabian sailors navigated the Red sea, the Persian gulf, the Indian ocean, and the Pacific. They regularly traded with the eastern shores of Africa and conveyed their merchandise to Suez, and thence to Palestine and Syria. It is, therefore, the most natural thing imaginable that the fame of Solomon should spread far and wide and reach the ears of the Queen of Sheba or Saba (Ethiopia). The prophet Isaiah alludes to this widely-spread commerce in his prediction, "the labor of Egypt and merchandize of Ethiopia and of the Sabæans, men of stature, shall come unto thee, and they shall be thine."\* The Abyssinians possess a book called "Kebir Zaneguste," or "Glory of the Kings," also "The Chronicle of the Kings of Abyssinia," which contains the details of the visit of the Queen of Sheba to Solomon. The author of it says, "We write the law and custom of the government of Ibu Hakim or Menilec, the son of Solomon. With him came the twelve doctors of the law that form the right hand bench in judgment." And he mentioned the other officers of eminence who came along with this prince, such as "the master of the horse, the high chamberlain, and he who carried the Ten Commandments and the holy water." This work is looked upon by the Abyssinians as a faithful repository of their early history; but Bruce, the traveller, said it was the production of an ignorant pretender, who used the septuagint translation of the Bible as the groundwork of a ridiculous fable, with the sole view of ministering to the vanity of his countrymen.†

The story of the Queen of Sheba is followed by a list of the neguses or emperors, from Menilec downwards, which has been corroborated by other testimony in some remarkable

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\* Chap. xiv., v. 14.

† *Travels*, vol. iii., p. 1.

particulars,\* but there is very little recorded, that possesses historical interest, from the time of Solomon down to that of Augustus Cæsar, when we find a queen of the Ethiopians invading the Thebais. The name of this queen was Candace, but this appears to have been a name as common among the queens of Ethiopia as that of Cleopatra was among those of Egypt under the Ptolemies.† According to the Roman historians, this war was carried on with great spirit by the Ethiopians, although fortune was entirely in favor of the Romans. It resulted, however, advantageously for Candace, and Augustus restored to her all the towns taken by his generals, and he remitted the tribute.‡ After this, no material event occurs until we come to the memorable incident of the conversion of the eunuch of Queen Candace to christianity by Philip the Deacon.§ But the Queen Candace here mentioned was not the same personage as she who had waged war against Augustus; the former lived in the reign of Tiberius Cæsar, and the event referred to is supposed to have occurred in the nineteenth or twentieth year of that emperor, which would be about A.D. 34, or very shortly after the crucifixion. This queen's real name was Judith, and that of her eunuch was Juda, according to the Abyssinian tradition, upon which no great reliance can be placed. History is silent as to the consequences which resulted from the conversion of the eunuch, and there is no distinct or credible account of the diffusion of christianity throughout Ethiopia or Abyssinia. It is not until the fourth century that we find the first certain indications of the conversion of a part of Abyssinia, through the instrumentality of Frumentius. But Neander thinks that the question might be raised, whether some seeds of christianity may not, even earlier than this, have been brought into other parts of that country by Jewish christians, and whether many of the Jewish customs prevailed among the Abyssinians, and the significance which is ascribed by one party among them to the baptism of

\* Salt, *Voyage to Abyssinia*, pp. 463-4.

† Pliny, l. vi., chap. 29.

‡ Dio Cassius, lib. liv., pp. 524-5.

§ Acts, chap. viii.

Christ, may not be traced to this fact.\* Among the Jewish customs observed by them are those relating to circumcision, the observance of the Sabbath, the distinction of meats, the veil of the temple, the purification of woman, the mode of singing or chanting religious services, and the practice of their judges or *umbares*, who boast of their Jewish origin.† Father Lobo, the Portuguese jesuit, who visited Abyssinia in the year 1624, asserts that the Abyssinians in his time continued to retain the several names, customs, and ceremonies which they received from the Jews.‡ He considers, however, that these customs only prove that there had been frequent intercourse between the Jews and the Abyssinians, which is the more probable, if it be admitted that the latter were originally a colony from Arabia. According to him this cannot be doubted. He also inclines to the opinion that the Queen of Sheba was an Arabian, and not an Ethiopian princess.§

The modern Abyssinians assert that Christ was born in the eighteenth year of the reign of their king Bazen, a descendant of Solomon, and the twenty-fourth monarch in the direct line from Menilehec. And from Bazen they reckon thirteen kings, who reigned three hundred and twenty-seven years, to the time of Abra and Asba, who were on the throne when Frumentius preached the gospel in Abyssinia. They allege that Frumentius found his work facilitated by the previous labors of St. Matthew, who had applied himself to the conversion of the Nubians, but the apostle did not succeed in reaching Abyssinia. And they relate the following legend of the mode in which Frumentius was brought into their country. A Tyrian philosopher, named Meropius, travelled in India with two young relatives named Frumentius and Edesius (or Sidracus), and, on his return, landed on an Island in the Red sea, where he died, some say from the violence of the natives, others from disease. The two young men were brought

\* *Allgemeine Geschichte der Christlichen Religion und Kirche*, vol. i, sec. 1, part 2.

† Lobo, *A Voyage to Abyssinia*, p. 285.

‡ Ibid.

§ Ibid., p. 287.

before the King of Abyssinia who treated them kindly, and, finding them possessed of talents and industry, promoted them, one to be his treasurer, the other his butler. On the king's death, the queen, who had been left regent of the kingdom during the ministry of her son, left the management of public affairs almost entirely to her treasurer, Frumentius. The latter gave great encouragement to christian merchants, and invited them to settle in Abyssinia, granting them many privileges and also places wherein to assemble for public worship.

This excited in the Abyssinians the desire to be fully instructed in christianity, and Frumentius, by the queen's permission, took a journey to Alexandria, in order to consult the famous Athanasius. That prelate consecrated him Bishop of Ahuma, and about the year 335 sent him to preach the gospel in Ethiopia, which he did with great success.\* But after his death the court and the nobility, with a large part of the nation, lapsed into paganism and remained in that state for nearly two hundred years. About the year 521, the king Aidog being at war with the Arab, Homerites, made a vow that, if he were successful, he would bring back his subjects to christianity, and, having achieved a great victory over his enemies, he commanded the Abyssinians to return to their former faith, which they accordingly did. The account in full of this event is recorded by the Syriac writers of that time.†

During the reign of Abra and Asba, above mentioned, the Emperor Constantius made several attempts to introduce Arianism into the country, and to procure the delivery up of Frumentius into the hands of George, the Arian bishop of Alexandria; but in these he was unsuccessful. That such a design should have entered into the emperor's mind, however, shows that the christian communities in Abyssinia were then deemed of considerable importance, but it is a matter of uncertainty what the exact tenets of the Abyssinian church

\* Rufinus, lib. i, chap. 9.

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† See Assemanus, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*.

were in those days. The whole christian world was rent with heresies and controversies, and the church of Alexandria, which the Abyssinians recognized as their mother church, suffered from these disputes as much as any other did. It is difficult to believe that, after a lapse of two hundred years into idolatry, the christianity taught by Frumentius should, at the mere command of a semi-barbarous monarch, spring into pure life among the Abyssinians; and this is the less probable when we remember the influence possessed by the Jews in that part of the world and in the western portions of Asia, about which we shall say more presently. Indeed, we know that from the earliest times to the present the Abyssinians have blended jewish rites with their christian ordinances. Thus they practised circumcision as well as baptism, and, like the Egyptians of old, they subjected their female as well as their male infants to it, and they allowed the rite to be performed by women. Of this we have also an example in scripture.\* They abstained from all works, except those of necessity, on the Sabbath, but they so far departed from jewish strictness as to light fires, bake bread, and cook food on that day. They also abstained from blood, and things strangled, swine's flesh, hares, rabbits, and other creatures which divide the hoof or do not chew the cud; and they observed the purifications prescribed by Moses. They also made it obligatory upon a man to marry his brother's widow where there had been no male issue to keep up his name; but this law was in existence long before the time of Moses, especially among the Canaanites, as is evident from the case of the patriarch Judah and his daughter-in-law Tamar.†

The reign of the before-mentioned king, Aidog, who appears to have been the same as the famous Elesbaan, also called Caleb, who for his sanctity was canonized by the church of Rome, was a remarkable epoch in Abyssinian history. Besides the revival of christianity, it witnessed the sudden extension of the power of Abyssinia over a considerable portion

\* *Exod.*, chap. iv., v. 24-26.

† *Gen.*, chap. xxxviii.

of Arabia, and the propagation of christianity by the sword. Much has been said in condemnation of that mode of spreading mohammedanism, but it should be remembered that it was unscrupulously resorted to by the early christian princes of Europe for the propagation of their faith; some of them, indeed, sought to force arianism upon the orthodox christians by similar means. Elesbaan, or Caleb, is not the only saint whom the Abyssinians have produced; they celebrate the festival of a monk named Tacalhaïmanaut, said to be descended from Zadok, who was high priest of the Jews in the days of David and Solomon. There is, however, great discrepancy among historians as to the time when this saint lived upon the earth, the Abyssinians (and the Copts along with them) averring that he was the companion of Frumentius, who, as we have seen, lived about the year 330, while Calmet, D'Herbelot, and Ludolf mention that he restored the practice of asceticism and monastic life in Ethiopia about the year 600.\* But this saint holds an inferior rank to Gabra-Menfes-Kaddus (i.e., *the servant of the Holy G'ios'*), in whose honor the Abyssinians celebrate a holiday once a month. D'Herbelot informs us that Claudius, king of Abyssinia, sent the life of St. Tacalhaïmanaut (i.e., *the paradise of the Trinity*, or, as Ludolf translates it, *the plant of faith*), written in Ethiopic, to Gabriel, the ninety-fifth patriarch of Alexandria, and this manuscript was to be seen in his (D'Herbelot's) time in the Royal Library at Paris, under the title of "Sairat Al Ab Al Thaoubani Tacalhaïmanaut."† Of Gabra-Menfes-Kaddus the Abyssinians still preserve many traditions, some of them fabulous. He lived only upon herbs, and used for clothing nothing but the leaves of trees, holding all worldly pleasures and delights in the utmost contempt.

It has already been observed, that from the remotest antiquity there has been communication between Palestine and Ethiopia; and for many ages it was very extensive. Tho

\* Ludolf, *Comment. ad hist. Æthiop.*, p. 269.

† D'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque Orientale* in voc. *Tacalhaïmanaut*.

Jews (or "Falashas," as the Abyssinians called them) who settled in Abyssinia, came there, as their descendants say, in the times prior to Solomon; but modern historians assert that the settlement or migration did not take place till after the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans.\* For several ages previous to the appearance of Mohammed the Jews were the dominating people in Arabia and Persia; but after the rise of mohammedanism they lost their influence and sunk beneath the yoke of the Saracens in those countries. Christian Ethiopia, however, resisted the mohammedans with heroic bravery, and the Jews of that country were screened from the power of the invader, and they succeeded in maintaining their political constitution. It is affirmed that they have to this day preserved their religion uncontaminated, and their own laws and government intact. They exist among the mountains of Samen as a separate and distinct people, governing themselves, but living on terms of but little familiarity with the other inhabitants of the country. They have in their possession but few works of Hebrew origin; indeed, it is reported that they have none excepting a Coptic translation of the Old Testament and of the apocryphal writings. It may be inferred from this that they have contributed but little to the enlightenment of the natives in matters of religion.

The Gallas, who inhabit the lower regions, are mohammedans or pagans; the Abyssinians who inhabit the more elevated portions of the country are christians, and, as they first received the gospel from the Coptic or Alexandrian church, they still maintain their connection with it, and are in the habit of sending to Egypt for their primate or patriarch, whom they call abuna. From the same church they received the doctrine of the monophysites, who held that there was only one nature in the person of Jesus Christ, in opposition to the nestorians who held that there were two: † that is to say, the latter taught that the human and the divine natures were distinct but coëxistent in Christ, while the former taught that

\* Gobat, *Journal*, p. 33.

† Ibid, p. 34.



both natures were absorbed into one in him. Whether there was anything more in this dispute than a mere dispute about words it is difficult to discover. It is certain that both monophysites and nestorians held the divinity of Christ; their differences related only to the mode of his incarnation. So long as the church of Alexandria remained in unity with itself and with the Greek church that of Abyssinia held the same doctrines and customs. But in the time of the Emperor Marcion, when the bishops disagreed respecting the doctrine of the incarnation, the council of Chalcedon, the fourth general council, was assembled; and by it the monophysite dogmas of Eutyches and Dioscurus were condemned. Upon this the orthodox ranged themselves under the patriarch of Constantinople; while the monophysites, and with them the Abyssinians, adhered to the patriarch of Alexandria.

This union lasted until the destruction of the church in Egypt by the Saracens in the seventh century. Those fierce zealots made a terrible assault upon Abyssinia, but they were bravely withstood, and the Abyssinian church remained unshaken. After this struggle it suddenly became obscured, and it retired from the page of history for more than eight centuries. Amid the moral and intellectual darkness which prevailed in Europe during the middle ages this distant church sank into almost total oblivion. But about the close of the fifteenth century certain travellers, whom John the Second of Portugal had sent out to explore eastern Africa, heard for the first time of a christian church planted at an early period among the mountains of Abyssinia which had successfully resisted the Saracens. When the king heard of this, he sent out an embassy to that country, in order to ascertain all about it. After numerous abortive efforts, Pedro Covilham, in 1490, succeeded in penetrating the valleys of that country, and he aroused a lively interest in the breast of the reigning emperor, Alexander, who would have sent a return embassy to Portugal had not death carried him off. His successor, Lebna Dangel, acting under the guardianship of his mother, Helena, con-

cluded a treaty with the king of Portugal, in 1509, whereby friendly intercourse was established between the two nations; and, on the invitation of Helena, several learned men, artists, and tradesmen from Portugal established themselves in Abyssinia.

The subsequent history of the Abyssinian church presents many features of striking interest; but it is too long and complicated to be introduced here, and, besides, we are not concerned with it further than as it may throw light on the existing state of affairs. We will, therefore, only notice the salient points.

In 1527 the emperor of Abyssinia sent an envoy named Zaga-Zaba to Lisbon, with power to sign a confession of faith, such as, in his judgment, would promote the interests, both temporal and spiritual, of the two kingdoms. But when the mohammedan Gallas, who were settled on the confines of the country, heard of this mission they arose in arms, defeated the emperor, and ravaged his provinces. The Emperor Dangel thereupon sent a Portuguese named Bermudez, whom the abuna had consecrated a bishop, to Rome to solicit aid. Bermudez arrived there in 1538, and was kindly received by the pope, who consecrated him patriarch of Ethiopia and sent him to the king of Portugal. The king temporized and promised assistance, which he did not send. Dangel had died in the meanwhile and been succeeded by his son Claudius, a man of great wisdom and intelligence, as was amply proved in the sequel. Bermudez returned to Goa, where he obtained aid from the Portuguese viceroy, and, in 1541, landing in Abyssinia, he joined the Abyssinian king, and with their united forces the mohammedans were utterly routed; the war was terminated, and Claudius was re-established on his throne.

But here began the real troubles, which disturbed the peace of the country and caused immense bloodshed at intervals during a period of ninety-two years. As usual, there are two versions of the story, the one put forth by the native

historians and adopted by protestants, the other **given** by the jesuits and generally adopted by catholics. We shall deal only with facts which are undisputed, leaving those who are curious to search out the motives of the actors in these scenes to consult the works of Lebo, Poncet, Gobat, Legrand, Talley, Maillet, and others for themselves.

Bermudez and his Portuguese demanded of the emperor, as the reward of their services, the surrender to them of one-third of his dominions, and the submission of himself and his subjects to the church of Rome. Claudius refused both, and threw Bermudez into prison, whence, however, he secretly escaped. Meanwhile, Loyola had founded the order of the jesuits, and the pope selected thirteen of the missionaries to undertake the conversion of Abyssinia. Three of them, Aprestes, Freyère, and Rodriguez, reached the court of the emperor in 1555, and at once began their labors; but they could make no impression upon Claudius. Rodriguez then sought out Bermudez, and returned with him to Goa to consult with his brethren, one of whom, Nunez Baretto, had been consecrated by the pope patriarch of Abyssinia, and two others, Oviedo and Carneiro, had been made bishops. On consultation, it was decided that Oviedo and a few others should immediately go to Abyssinia and remonstrate with the emperor. He went accordingly, but succeeded no better than the others had. It is said that Oviedo challenged the learned men of Abyssinia to a public disputation of the points at issue between them; the challenge was accepted by the Emperor Claudius, who, in person, replied to the arguments of the bishop, and the jesuits themselves admit that the emperor vanquished his antagonist by his knowledge and clear exposition of Scripture.\* Oviedo then published a pamphlet on the errors of the Abyssinian church, but the emperor wrote a refutation of it, which had the effect of thwarting the bishop's efforts. Oviedo then excommunicated Claudius.

Claudius fell soon after in battle with the Arabs (1559).

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\* Gobat, *Journal*, p. 68.

His brother and successor, Adam, deprived the Portuguese of the lands which Claudius had granted to them, and threatened Oviedo with instant death if he persisted in his advocacy of the supremacy of the pope. But Adam himself fell shortly afterwards in battle with the mohammedans, and was succeeded by his son, Malac Sagad, a bitter enemy to the jesuits. The latter, not at all dismayed, renewed their efforts to convert the king and his people; they also applied to the viceroy of Goa for troops, but the latter used his influence with the pope to get the jesuit mission recalled from Abyssinia, and, in spite of all the protestations of the missionaries, they were peremptorily removed to Goa, and thus ended the first jesuit mission to Ethiopia (1560).

In 1588 Philip II. of Spain sent out two jesuits, Montserado and Paez, to Abyssinia. These pious men sailed from Goa, but were wrecked on the coast of Arabia, thrown into prison, and kept there seven years. Two others were then sent out, but they were seized by the Governor of Massawah and hanged. An Italian missionary, named Battista, shared the same fate. But the jesuits were not daunted. Menezes, archbishop of Goa, sent a converted Brahmin to the abuna, urging him to submit without delay to the authority of the pope, but this exhortation was treated with contempt. The jesuits next sent out a band of missionaries, who reached Abyssinia in the summer of 1603; among them was Paez, who had just been redeemed from his long imprisonment. But on their arrival a revolution broke out, wherein the Emperor Jacob was de-throned, and Za Dangel crowned in his stead. The latter welcomed Paez and negotiated with him for military aid from Portugal. While these negotiations were going on, another revolution took place, and, after much bloodshed, Jacob regained his throne, but soon he fell in battle against another pretender named Susneus, claiming to be a descendant of David, who on his accession assumed the name of Sultan Saged. The new emperor received the jesuits with open arms, and, at their suggestion, wrote to the pope and the king of Portugal

for a military force. He also publicly embraced the tenets of the Roman catholic church, and issued an edict prohibiting the bestowing of offices upon any of the clergy except those who adopted the Roman confession of faith, threatening the severest punishment to all who maintained that there was only one nature in the person of Jesus Christ. The abuna threatened the emperor with excommunication, but Susneus having proposed that the subject should be publicly discussed with the jesuits, the abuna was pacified; the discussion took place, and the abuna and his clergy were vanquished.

It seemed now as though the jesuits had finally triumphed, and, perhaps, had they been content with the concession they had obtained, they might ultimately have gained over the whole of Abyssinia, but they were flushed with their success, and pushed matters to an extremity by persuading the emperor to decree immediate death to all who should deny the doctrine of the two distinct natures in the person of Christ. The emperor went further, for he also commanded his subjects to adopt the principles and perform the rites of the catholic church. Therefore the abuna excommunicated him, and summoned the clergy and people to take up arms in defence of the religion of their fathers. Elias, viceroy of Tigre and son-in-law of the emperor, seconded the appeal and assembled a large army, with which he attacked the imperial troops, but both he and the venerable abuna were slain. The emperor followed up his success by decreeing that the sabbath should no longer be celebrated after the jewish fashion. This produced another revolt, which, however, was suppressed after considerable bloodshed. The emperor now became devoted to the jesuits, and Paez sent to Rome for a patriarch and twenty ecclesiastics. The pope refused this request, but sent out Emmanuel d'Almeyda and three other priests, who arrived in Abyssinia in 1624, and were joyfully received at court. About the same time the court of Madrid sent out Alfonso Mendez as patriarch, with two bishops, Diego Seco and Juan de la Rocha.

At their solicitation the emperor convened an ecclesiastical council, on the 11th of December, 1624, at which he and the patriarch presided. A sermon was preached from the text, "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church;" the confession of faith hitherto used in Abyssinia was solemnly abjured by Susneus and his courtiers, and excommunication was denounced against all who should condemn this abjuration, the native priests were forbidden to officiate until duly qualified by the patriarch, and the people were enjoined to submit to the pope, and to discover and bring to punishment all who adhered to the old faith. A large palace and an ample establishment were provided for the new patriarch and his associates, and jesuit missionaries were sent into all parts of the empire to hasten the conversion of the people. Again an insurrection burst forth, headed by Tecla George, a son-in-law of Susneus, which was suppressed with great bloodshed. But universal dissatisfaction prevailed, and in 1620 civil war again broke out, and raged with fury. The troops of the emperor were defeated in more than one encounter, and he became so disheartened at the miseries of the nation, that at last he summoned the dignitaries of the Abyssinian church, and announced to them his resolution of granting them the right to resume their ancient worship.

When the catholic patriarch heard of this, on the 20th of January, 1632, accompanied by the whole college of the jesuits of the country, he hastened to the emperor to remonstrate with him, but he replied that his attachment to the catholic faith had caused too much bloodshed, and that consequently he could no longer support it. This was followed by a proclamation announcing the restoration of the ancient faith, which occasioned the liveliest rejoicing among the people. Susneus died shortly afterwards, and was succeeded by his son, Basilides. The jesuits were accused of fomenting a conspiracy against him, in consequence of which he exiled them all to Fremona. There they tried to induce one of the disaffected native chiefs to espouse their cause, but this coming to the

ears of the emperor, he ordered them to quit Ethiopia immediately, which they reluctantly did. Four of them, however, subsequently fell into the hands of the populace who hanged them. A new abuna, accompanied by a coadjutor, named Peter Heyling, a German and a Lutheran, was obtained from Alexandria, and the Abyssinian church was reinstated in its original position. The jesuits made one more effort to convert the country; they sent out eight missionaries, but of these two were killed by robbers on their journey, three were beheaded in Nubia by order of the Turkish pasha, and the three who reached Abyssinia were executed immediately upon their arrival.

About the year 1702 Abyssinia was visited by the French jesuit, Poncet, who wrote an interesting account of his travels; he returned to France in 1703. In 1714 Pope Clement XI. sent out four German Franciscan monks to Abyssinia. These missionaries were kindly received by the Emperor Justus and permitted to preach; but in March, 1718, the people became so violently prejudiced against them that the emperor ordered them to be stoned to death, which was accordingly done at Gondar. This extinguished the last efforts of the catholic church, and the field was left clear for protestant missionaries, but they did not enter it until more than a hundred years had elapsed. The foregoing historical sketch will enable the reader to understand the relative positions of the churches of Rome and Abyssinia toward each other. We will now consider the protestant view of the subject.

In 1808 the French vice-consul at Cairo induced a learned Abyssinian, named Abraham, who had accompanied Bruce in his travels through Abyssinia, to translate the New Testament into the Amharic language. Mr. Abraham achieved his task after ten years' careful labor, and in 1818 the manuscript was purchased by the British and Foreign Bible Society and published by them. They then commissioned two evangelical German missionaries, Samuel Gobat, of Berne, and Christian Kugler, of Wurtemberg, in 1825, to proceed to Abyssinia to



disseminate the Amharic scriptures, that language or dialect being the one chiefly spoken there. But owing to the civil war then raging in that country, and to other circumstances, they did not reach Massowah until the 18th of December, 1829; it was the middle of February, 1830, before they arrived at Adigrate in Tigre, where they were amicably received by Sebagatis, the sovereign of that part of the country. There they separated, Kugler remaining in Tigre, and Gobat proceeding to Gondar; but they were in feeble health, and the country was in too distracted a state to admit of their travelling with safety. Kugler was killed by the bursting of his gun on the 29th of December, 1830; Gobat was prostrated by sickness during a considerable portion of his sojourn in Abyssinia, and he was finally obliged to leave the country, on the 10th of December, 1832. He visited it a second time in 1835 and 1836, and he has left a most valuable record of his experience and observations on the state of that benighted land.\*

Mr. Kugler's place was supplied by the Rev. Charles William Isenberg, who reached Adowah in Tigre in April, 1835. He was followed by the Rev. Charles Henry Blumhardt, in 1837, and by the Rev. John Ludwig Krapf, at the close of that year. In 1838 the priesthood of the Abyssinian church raised an opposition to these missionaries, and they were consequently compelled to leave the country. But in 1839 they contrived to make their way into Shoa, where the king gave them a favorable reception. There they remained five months together, when Mr. Isenberg returned to England. Mr. Krapf remained until March, 1842. Since that time every difficulty has been thrown in the way of the missionaries in all parts of Abyssinia, and there has also been incessant civil war; consequently very little progress, if any, has been made in the improvement of the quality of the christianity which prevails there. The late Emperor Theodore at times professed friendship for Europeans, and permitted them to visit his dominions; but he was too unsettled in his own position and too violent

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\* *Journal of Three Years' Residence.*



and suspicious to be relied upon. How he turned upon the missionaries and Europeans, and incarcerated them for more than two years, and how they were released only by the intervention of an English army and the death of Theodore, must be fresh in every one's recollection. The country has not yet recovered from its long internal disorders, and it is, perhaps, unwise to expect much from the labor of missionaries for some time to come.

What, then, is the present condition of the Church of Abyssinia? And on what points can the Church of England reasonably expect community of sentiment from it? The best answer to these questions is gleaned from the recorded observations of recent missionaries, and from their conversations and discussions with the native priests. From these the following summary is drawn, and will, it is hoped, be found as nearly accurate as so complicated a subject will admit of; and from the information supplied by Lobo, Poncet, Rochet, Bruce, Salt, Rassam, and other travellers in Abyssinia, it is tolerably certain that in that country there has been but little change in the doctrines taught by the old monophysites of the fourth century, though recently there has sprung up a new schism about the doctrine of the one nature in Christ. The christians in Abyssinia are now divided into three parties, animated by the most hostile spirit towards each other, and the disputes all relate to this dogma as to the person of Christ.

The first party maintain that when the scriptures declare that our Saviour was anointed with the Holy Spirit, they mean that the divinity was personally united to the humanity of Christ, and that in all those passages where he is represented as receiving the Holy Spirit, the name "Holy Spirit" only signifies the deity of Christ, because he could not have needed to receive what he always had possessed; or, as they express it, Jesus Christ *has* anointed, *has been* anointed, and *is* himself an unction. The advocates of this view are most numerous in Tigre, where it was supported by one of the former abunas.

The second party contend that when it is said our Saviour

was anointed, it only signifies that the Holy Spirit wrought a union between the divine and the human natures in him. These religionists are found chiefly in Gojam and Lasta.

The third party hold that the man Christ Jesus, although united to the Deity from the moment of his immaculate conception, received in his humanity the Holy Spirit in the same manner as we receive it, that is, as a gift from the Father, qualifying him, as man, to accomplish the work of redemption. Hence they argue that his anointing may be termed a third birth. This opinion prevails extensively throughout Abyssinia.

With regard to the Holy Spirit, the Abyssinians believe that it proceeds only from the Father, and not from the Father and the Son, as taught by the Anglican church. They practice infant baptism by sprinkling with water in which some *merom* has been poured; this "merom" being supposed to contain a few drops of the Saviour's blood which have been miraculously preserved. They believe that at baptism the child receives the Holy Spirit, and after the ceremony they administer to it the Lord's supper; but they do not baptize male infants until the fortieth day after their birth, and female infants not until the eightieth. They also practice adult baptism by immersion.\* With regard to the communion, the priests usually partake of it every day, and the laity whenever they feel inclined. It is usually administered at daybreak, but on fast days it is usual to postpone it till three o'clock in the afternoon. In order to administer it properly, according to the rules of the Abyssinian church, it is necessary that five deacons should be present. The ceremony consists of reading from the gospel and singing hymns. The bread and wine are then consecrated, and it is believed that they then become changed, that is, that the Lord enters into them; but if a wicked or unbelieving man receives them, an angel separates the Lord from the elements at the moment they are entering the mouth of the receiver, and the bread and wine instantly resume their ordinary qualities. The Abyssinians are very

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\* Isenberg and Krapf, *Journals*, p. 182.

particular about preparing the bread; no woman may touch it, and it must be made and broken only by men. The wine is composed of the juice of grapes, mixed with water.

The Abyssinians confess to their priests, and the latter grant absolution from sin, though they usually impose penance of some kind or other, chiefly fasting; but this fasting can be done by proxy, where the sinner is rich enough to pay a substitute. Gobat informs us that the Abyssinians frequently postpone their confession until their dying hour, in order to escape from penance; also that the priest never refuses to the dying the privileges of full absolution\*. The priests accompany the funeral procession to the grave, where they offer prayer and pronounce absolution. After the funeral the widow or relatives of the deceased give sumptuous feasts, to which the priests are invited, and there they repeat psalms and pronounce absolution again over the departed. These feasts vary in splendor according to the means of the parties.

The Abyssinian church does not hold the doctrine of a second purgatory, nor that of everlasting punishment. The general belief is that almost all go to hell directly at the moment of death, but that the Archangel Michael descends from time to time to the place of torment to release the sufferers and take them to paradise. Some are delivered for the good works they performed on earth; others on account of the prayers and meritorious efforts of surviving friends; others through the intercession of the priests. In this view of the subject it would be difficult to say in what the efficacy of the atonement consists; or, indeed, what necessity there is for it at all. And herein the Abyssinian church differs most materially from the Anglican, which teaches that the only hope of pardon is in the mediation of Christ.

Fasting is considered by the Abyssinians as the essence of religion. Their fasts are so numerous as to take up nine months out of the twelve every year, but they are not

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\* *Journal*, p. 452.

rigorously observed, even by the priests. There are some, however, that are regarded as indispensable, such as the fast of fifty-six days preceding Easter, that of sixteen days in August, in commemoration of the death and ascension of the Virgin Mary, and the regular fasts every Wednesday and Friday. In some parts of the empire the people fast forty days before Christmas. And the principal penance imposed by the priests is fasting for a long time, sometimes for a year, two years, five years, or even seven years, though the privilege of neglecting it may be purchased for money. Sometimes the offender is required to learn the whole of the psalms by heart, and repeat them a number of times during a prescribed period. The fasting consists in abstaining from animal food, except fish, and in not drinking any kind of beverage, not even water, until three o'clock in the afternoon, except on Saturdays and Sundays, when the people are allowed to eat and drink after eight o'clock in the morning. Combining all this with their Jewish observances, it will be seen that a really religious Abyssinian has enough to do to comply with the demands of his faith.

The rite of circumcision is almost universally practised upon both sexes, and it is usually performed during the first week after birth; though some parents do not circumcise their sons. Sacrifices are common, especially the propitiatory one called "Beza," or redemption, which is resorted to for the benefit of the sick. It consists in causing an animal, designed to represent the sufferer, to make several turns round his bed, and afterwards taking its life. Sometimes an egg is turned three times round the head of the patient, and then broken before his bed. All the churches have an ark, representing the ark of the Lord, and this is believed to confer sanctity on the edifice. The Abyssinians use images of saints, and pray to them as intercessors with God.

It remains to say a few words concerning the ordination of priests and the celebration of marriage, both of which are sacraments in the Roman Catholic and in the Greek church, but not

so in the Anglican, where they are merely rites. But though looked upon in the Anglican church as rites merely, they are nevertheless celebrated with great solemnity therein. In the Abyssinian, however, they are observed in a manner which it is not easy to characterize. The laxity prevailing in regard to ordination is almost incredible, and would be quite so were it not for the positive testimony of Gobat.\* He asserts that all that is requisite is, that the person who desires to be ordained should pay to the interpreter of the abuna two pieces of salt, to procure the imposition of hands. This comprises the whole ceremony, it being neither preceded by any examination of the character or motives of the applicant, nor followed by any exhortation to correct deportment! He is considered amply qualified if he knows the alphabet and can repeat a few prayers! If this be literally true, it is no wonder that Abyssinians consider it a disgrace to be a priest, nor that religion as taught by such ignorant creatures should be at a low ebb among them. There is no public preaching of the gospel in the churches. Priests are allowed to marry previous to ordination, but not subsequently; should they, however, break their vows of chastity they would not be punished more severely than by excommunication, fasting, and prayer, which is not rigidly enforced.†

The number of priests and deacons for each church is twenty, one-third of whom officiate one week, while the others rest, and during that week the officiating priests live apart from their families. Each priest has a number of what are called "spiritual children"; these are boys who go to him to be instructed, and entrust themselves to his spiritual care. At the commencement of their novitiate they solemnly promise that they will obey their priests, observe all the usages prescribed by the church, give alms to friars, to the poor, and to widows and orphans, and frequently take the Lord's supper. They remain with the priest several years, and then de-

\* *Journal*, p. 454.

† *Ibid*, p. 455. Isenberg and Krapf, *Journals*, p. 127-8.

eide whether they will marry or not; if they decide in the affirmative, the priest has to select a wife for them. If they resolve to become priests they must abstain from marriage. If they chose to become monks, they have to take a vow never to look at or touch a woman, nor hear her voice, nor eat anything which has been cooked or touched by her.\*

Our review of the present state of the Abyssinian church would be incomplete without some notice of the ordinances relating to marriage. It may be affirmed, as a general principle, that the estimation in which the marriage relation is held is a fair test of the progress which civilization has made among a people. If we find it held in reverence, and the sanctity of the tie between man and wife inculcated and enforced, and the breach of it punished with severity, we shall also find that there the nation has adopted a high moral tone in its dealings. If we find it slightly valued and easily shaken off, we may be sure that nation is in a low state of civilization. This is the case in countries where polygamy is tolerated. The fearful effects of this demoralizing system are evident in the moral and intellectual condition of the offspring, and as this deterioration goes on from generation to generation, the nation practising the system finally reaches the state in which we now find the Abyssinians. Among them the marriage tie is very insecure. It has been asserted that there are no other obligations than such as are contracted by mutual consent, and which subsist only so long as both parties are inclined to respect them.† After separation these engagements may be again renewed, again violated, and a third time repeated. And the family relations partake of the unsettled nature of the local government and the insecurity of property. Thus a woman may be the mother of six or seven children by as many fathers who may have come from as many different provinces; for as soon as one chief expels another the followers of the vanquished leader accompany him into

\* *Ibid.*, 126-7.

† Russell *Nabia and Abyssinia*, p. 248.

some new district, leaving wives and children to the protection of their more fortunate successors.\* Bruce met with a lady of high rank at Koscum, who was then in company with seven men who had each been her husband, and no one of whom could claim her for his wife at that particular juncture. When married couples agree to part, they divide the children between them, according to certain rules which need not here be specified. From the king to the beggar there is no distinction between legitimate and illegitimate offspring; but, in the case of the royal family, the mother of the heir is previously selected and usually crowned.†

The marriage ceremony is exceedingly simple. The parties betrothed prepare a feast to which the priest is invited, and when the banquet is over they present themselves before him and he receives their reciprocal promise of constancy and affection; after this he wishes them prosperity and happiness, and the ceremony is closed.‡ When they become dissatisfied with each other they go before a priest or a judge and mutually repudiate each other. After a third divorce of this kind the Abyssinians can lawfully neither contract a regular marriage nor partake of the Lord's supper, unless they become monks or re-marry one of their former wives.§ But, in fact, the bulk of the people trouble themselves very little about these restrictions, nor about having only one wife at a time; hence, polygamy and concubinage are common, and the licentiousness of the women, especially of those of the highest rank, is open and shameless. The testimony of all travellers in that part of the world corroborates this assertion. The Abyssinian monarchs have not only a plurality of wives but a multitude of concubines. The jesuit missionary, Father Tellez, thinks that this custom originated in the imitation of their alleged progenitor, Solomon, king of Israel, and he states that when the Emperor Susneus became converted to the Roman catholic faith the jesuits refused to absolve him from his sins until he had cast off all his wives and concubines except the first.||

\* Ibid.

† Ibid, p. 249.

‡ Gobat, p. 451.

§ Ibid.

|| Alvarez, *Hist. Abysa.*, lib. i, chap. 19.

We may here notice, in connection with this topic, the existence among the Abyssinians of the ancient Jewish custom of marrying laymen at the door of the church, none but priests and deacons being married inside the church. This custom was formerly prevalent in England, as we learn from Chaucer, who, in his description of the wife of Bath, says:

"She was a worthy woman all her life;  
Husbands at the church door had she had five."

Seeing, then, the deplorable condition of morals among the the Abyssinians, the ignorance and degradation of their priesthood, and the little vitality there is in their church, we need not be surprised at the prevalence of superstition among them; also the vices of drunkenness, lying, and theft. For specimens of the extraordinary extent to which they carry their superstition, the reader is referred to the works of Isenberg and Krapf,\* Gobat,† and Russel.‡ And after surveying this dark picture of errors and superstitions now extensively prevalent and deeply rooted in the Abyssinian church, it is reasonable to conclude with Gobat,§ that her adherents have no correct ideas of the fundamental doctrines of the gospel.

This church is Christian in name only; it has no vital influence on its professors at the present day at all events, whatever it may have had in the days of Frumentius, and although the same may be said of all other churches with regard to many of their professing members, it cannot be applied to them to anything like the extent to which it may with reference to the Abyssinian. These considerations naturally increase the astonishment we feel when prelates of the Church of England seriously propose negotiations between the Coptic abuna and the archbishop of Canterbury. It would almost make one believe that the English church, feeling that she has but few friends while she retains her character of a church "established by law," is driven to seek for them in remote corners of the earth.

\* Pp. 116-19.

† P. 289.

‡ Pp. 252-60.

§ P. 457.



ART. VIII. *War Proclamations, Despatches, Newspaper Articles, Speeches at Sympathizing Meetings, and Reports of Battles, etc., etc.* July, August, September, 1870.

WHEN Diogenes compared public opinion to footprints upon sand, he was not so much wrong as it might seem at first sight. Just one month ago France was almost universally regarded as the greatest of nations ; now, because her armies have been defeated in several battles by armies at least three times their number, she is regarded as fallen, and the palm of superior greatness is transferred to the nation that has thus overpowered her ! While we make these remarks the Prussians are doubtless in sight of Paris, and we do not think it at all unlikely, under existing circumstances, that it will be captured before the close of the present month.

This, in connection with the almost total destruction of her armies already accomplished, would be a great calamity to France, but we should have no right to conclude from it that her sun is set—that there is no more glory for her. Still more illogical would it be to conclude that, because Prussia has been so triumphantly victorious in this campaign with the aid of all the rest of the German states, she, in future, must be the great nation whose superiority all other nations are bound to acknowledge.

It is not necessary to read much of the history of the world in order to be convinced of the absurdity of such conclusions and predictions. Rome was never so great or glorious as she became after having been captured by the ancestors of those very people who are now regarded as hopelessly crushed. Carthage also arose from her ashes more glorious and more powerful than she had ever been before ; if she was finally destroyed, never to rise again, it was because Carthage was after all but a city—she had no territory of any extent beyond her gates, except her small, distant colonies. In a word, she had not, like Paris, forty millions of brave, patriotic hearts to avenge her destruction. But those so ready to make predic-

tions may learn another lesson from the same rival nations. Small as the territories of the Carthaginians were, their great general was able to maintain a foothold in the heart of Italy for nineteen years, frequently defeating the Roman legions, commanded by their ablest generals. Those who would reason then as most of our philosophers do now, should conclude that it was all over with Rome—that, henceforth Carthage should be the arbiter of the destinies of nations, and, at the same time, command the esteem of mankind as the guide of civilization.

But it is not necessary to go either to Rome or Carthage for examples. The story of Prussia herself contains quite enough of such. If disastrous defeats of the armies of a nation, and the capture of its capital during a single brief campaign, were evidence that that nation was crushed to rise no more, then it would have been impossible for Prussia to have invaded France and destroyed her armies. As for Berlin it has been captured several times; it was captured by the Austrians, and Russians even in the time of Frederick the Great (1760). But none took it more easily than the French, Napoleon signalizing his capture of it by issuing from it his celebrated Berlin Decree (1806). As to defeats it was not merely at Jena and Auerstadt that the Prussians were obliged to retire before the victorious French. It should be remembered that the French took Breslau, Magdeburgh, Dantzic, Königsberg, etc., as well as Berlin; and to the defeats of Auerstadt and Jena may be added those of Eylau, Pattusk, and Friedland. On the 6th of November Prince Hohenlo surrendered; the day following Marshal Blücher surrendered. In short, Prussia was rendered perfectly helpless by the French in the course of one campaign, so much so that the king—Frederick William III.—was reduced to the humiliation of receiving an annuity of £60,000 a year out of the British treasury for the support of himself and his household.

It will be admitted that if Paris were taken to-morrow, with all the fortified towns and fortresses between Paris and

the Rhine—nay, with all the French cities of any importance in the south as well as the north—still France could hardly be said to be more prostrate or more powerless than Prussia was in 1806. Yet we are told that Prussia is to be the greatest nation in Europe, because, with the aid of all the rest of Germany, she has treated France in 1870 somewhat as France treated her in 1806. True, Napoleon I. did not carry off Frederick William III. as a trophy, but had he cared to do so there was nothing to prevent him. One of the emperor's marshals suggested to him that he ought to shut up the fallen monarch in the fortress of Metz. "*Mais,*" replied the emperor, "*il n'est qu'un garçon.*"

We trust we need hardly say that we do not recall these facts for the purpose of disparaging Prussia or the Prussians; we merely want to show how uncertain is the fortune of war, and how illogical and short-sighted it is to pronounce a great nation in a state of decline merely because, having miscalculated the strength of her enemy, her armies are overpowered, captured, or cut to pieces by superior numbers.

Much has been said, since the war commenced, about the irresistible power of "united Germany;" as if Germany had never before united against France. But there was quite as much unity in 1792 as there is now. In that year the King of Prussia entered into a treaty with the Emperor of Germany for the purpose of compelling France to discard republicanism and restore monarchy. In virtue of this treaty immense German armies invaded France; the French were as much unprepared as they were of late, and accordingly they were defeated in several battles. Then they were not able to hold even their strongest fortresses. The Germans took Strasbourg, Metz, Verdun, Longwy, etc. Finally, while on their way to Paris—having reached Champagne—threatening to demolish the French capital, they were defeated at Valmy by Kellermann.

At this time the French had become fully aroused; and terrible were the consequences, not only to Prussia but to all Germany. The German hosts were not merely expelled; they

were decimated in their precipitate retreat. Nor did this satisfy the French—they entered Germany at all points, and in an incredibly short time, considering how tardily military operations had to be carried on then as compared with the present, the whole country was utterly subdued. Much of this was done, be it observed, before Bonaparte was heard of; but how effectually he finished the work is sufficiently known.

Predictions were then made in regard to Germany like those made now in regard to France. There were those who cried "It is all over with Prussia," "Germany will never recover this blow," etc. Instead of these prophecies having been verified, are not all our readers aware that the whole of Germany had never been in so prosperous a condition as she has been since. And are the French less energetic, less patriotic, and less proud than the Germans? Do they, in a word, possess less recuperative power? We need not answer for them. Let their history, from the time of Julius Cæsar to the present, do so. No country has suffered more from political and military convulsions than France, but the worst of them have but little retarded her onward course as the standard-bearer of civilization.

But there are those who pretend to account for her recent defeats on the ground that she is inferior in enlightenment to Prussia. It is unnecessary for us to deny that such is the fact, since the educated classes of all enlightened countries know the reverse. Far be it from us to disparage Prussia; none admire the many excellent qualities of the Germans more than we do; none more highly appreciate what the German mind has done for literature, science, and art. The many articles on the great thinkers of Germany, from our own pen, which have appeared in this journal for the last ten years, will acquit us of any other feeling towards the German race than one of friendship and esteem. But when it is sought to place Germany or any German state above France, intellectually, or on the ground of what it has done or is doing for

civilization, then we most decidedly object, and in proof of the justice of our objection we need only refer to the great libraries of the world. The libraries even of Prussia would amply vindicate the superior claims of the French intellect on modern civilization.

It should be remembered that up to the time of the French Revolution Germany could hardly be said to have any literature of her own. Whatever works were written were modelled on similar French works. Even Frederick the Great would not attempt an innovation in this respect. It was not until the time of Schiller that Germany had any serious thought of a national literature. As for Gœthe, it is well known how much imbued he was with the French spirit, and how much he was influenced in his poetical *chefs d'œuvre* by Corneille and Racine.

Thus, if the German intellect is superior to the French, why did Germany slumber for so many ages while France produced such a brilliant galaxy of philosophers, poets, historians, and scientific men? Who will compare the age of Louis XIV. with that of Frederick the Great, or any other Prussian or German age past or present? Nay, even to-day, when Prussia is said to have advanced so immensely in enlightenment, is it not true that the works of fifty living French authors, male and female, are read everywhere out of Germany for one German book? This may seem an exaggeration of the difference, but the reverse is the fact. We should be perfectly justified in saying that the female authors alone of France, such as De Staël, De Sévigné, De Genlis, etc., are more read in England and the United States, as well as in Italy, Spain, and Russia, than all the authors of Prussia. As to the proportion in number between those who learn French and those who learn German, it may be set down as a hundred to one, and need we say that in proportion as the language of any enlightened country is learned its literature is studied?

But let us assume it is because Prussia is more enlightened

than France that the former has struck heavier blows in the present war than the latter. We are quite aware that there is such a phrase at the present day as "thinking bayonets," but it is not the phrase of any great general, ancient or modern. Frederick the Great, Napoleon I., and Wellington, as well as Hannibal, Scipio Africanus and Alexander, always maintained that a soldier, fighting or marching in the ranks, is no more to think, as to what he should do independently of the command he receives, than a woman should hesitate in regard to parting with her virtue. It is a fundamental principle in military science that the more an army is like a machine, all of whose movements may be directed by an individual, the more formidable and irresistible it is. And that this is the correct view of the question history abundantly proves. The Turks never fought so bravely as while they were most grossly ignorant, and is not the same true of the Goths, the Vandals, and the Huns? Men taught to think believe they have a nobler mission than the slaughter of their fellow-creatures, merely to gratify the ambition or the passing whim of emperor, king, or demagogue. Away, then, with such logic as that France is but a second or third rate nation, because for once in her history Prussia has triumphed over her.

Another question suggests itself here: to which of the belligerents is the sympathy of the American people due, if, as a neutral nation, we should evince any for either? This would be a superfluous question were it not that so many seem to have forgotten some of the most important events in the history of their country. Strangers may well wonder why there are so few among us who bear in mind the mission of Benjamin Franklin, Arthur Lee, and Silas Deane, and the manner in which it was received at that capital now said to be doomed. Neither Louis XVI. nor his minister, Necker, wished to listen to the earnest appeal of the young republic of the United States struggling for existence against a powerful and resolute foe. Both king and minister, though favorable to our cause, were opposed to going to war with England at such a crisis; but

the sympathy of the French people was so enthusiastic and general that the government concluded it would be imprudent to resist it—ardently anxious as all classes were that the aid we so earnestly solicited should be given us. Accordingly, a treaty was immediately entered into by which France agreed to send an auxiliary force to America, and that, having once unsheathed the sword in behalf of the young republic, she would make no peace until it was fully recognized by Great Britain.

Nor was this any illusive promise, such as governments often make. With as little delay as possible, a fleet of thirty-two ships, under the command of the Count d'Orvilliers, sailed from Brest (July, 1778) to fight on our behalf. Soon after another squadron, under the Count d'Estaing, sailed for the same purpose and destination. These fleets inflicted injuries on the British in every way they could, attacking their colonies, especially those of the West Indies, as well as their ships, so that they might be otherwise occupied than in trying to crush the young republic. General Washington feeling, however, that it was necessary to have the aid of land troops as well as fleets, appealed again to the French government, and at his urgent request a powerful armament, under the Count de Rochambeau, was despatched to his assistance with as little delay as possible. In order to support this expedition, a fleet of twenty-eight sail, commanded by the Count de Grasse, crossed the Atlantic and anchored in the Chesapeake (September 10, 1781). A little more than one month (October 19) after this, Lord Cornwallis was forced to surrender with his whole force at Yorktown to the combined Americans and French. The independence of the colonies was now virtually established; as soon as the British ministry heard of the capture of Cornwallis, not only with his whole army but also the whole of the British shipping in the harbor of Yorktown, it came to the conclusion, though very unwillingly, that there was no use in prosecuting the war any further. Accordingly, the independence of the United States was acknowledged soon

after, and a provisional treaty of peace was concluded with Dr. Franklin at Paris (November 30, 1782). Thus did the French shed their blood for us, freely, on sea and land in our struggle of life or death.

It is true that Prussia also sent troops to the territories of the new republic; she sent the Hessians; but, unlike France, it was to do all in their power to crush us. In reminding our readers of this contrast, however, we most emphatically disclaim all intention of exciting any feeling against Prussians, Hessians, or any other branch of the great German family. We merely wish to vindicate the homely adage, naturalized in every civilized country, that "one good turn deserves another." The thinking portion of the German people have too much sense and philosophy to expect that the American people ought to render evil for good in thought and word, if not in deed, in order to please any nation or people whatever.

Supposing a slender, delicate youth, who has no wish to fight further than to protect his rightful property as best he can, is attacked by a professional pugilist who staggers and knocks him down several times. Finding the struggle with such an antagonist almost hopeless, he appeals to a stalwart person at a distance who is somewhat famous for his courage and generosity. True to his character, the latter rushes to his assistance, and in a short time forces the pugilist to desist. In process of time the person who did so good a turn happens to be attacked himself and overpowered. Supposing the youth whom he formerly saved, but now become an athletic man of gigantic strength, happened to see this, and instead of making any attempt to save him, commenced if not to jeer at him at least to run him down and declare what a much finer man, both physically and intellectually, his antagonist is! This, it will be admitted, would be rather unworthy, and yet is it not somewhat like what we have all lately seen and heard? so that we confess we have often thought during the last month how justly might we be reproached by the *manes* of La Fayette, Rochambeau,



De Grasse, D'Estaing, D'Orvilliers, De Lauzun, De Lameth, De Noailles, etc.!

That England should sympathize with Prussia against France is a different matter. Let us be just and admit that she is not one-twentieth so much to blame for doing so as we. It should be remembered that her feelings in regard to France as founded on the past would naturally be the opposite to ours, apart from the fact that, for more than four centuries, England and France were almost constantly at war with each other. England has to reproach that nation with having aided the most valuable of her colonies by sending them fleets and armies to throw off her yoke. Upon the other hand, Prussia was her ally, at the same time, and furnished her men and munitions of war at a nominal price. Besides, at the present time, an English princess is the wife of the crown prince of Prussia. Is there not some reason then, in the sympathy of England? That under all the circumstances she should be rather glad of the victories of "our Fritz" and the defeats of the French is but natural. Accordingly the French do not expect her sympathy, but they expect ours, and have as good a right to it as any nation ever had to the sympathy of another in a similar crisis.

It is true there has been a considerable change in the public opinion of this country since the declaration by the French of the republic. While we write the sympathy of our people has a decided tendency in favor of France; this is right. If people are once in the wrong that is no reason why they should continue so. Certainly, it seemed at the outset that Louis Napoleon was the aggressor; in a literal sense, so he was, but it has since become evident to the most casual observer that Prussia had long been preparing for this war; and it has become equally evident that France had made no such elaborate preparation. However, the public opinion of the world was against the emperor. We thought, ourselves, and still think, that he was wrong in being so precipitate in declaring war; but at no time have we thought that any reason why we

should rejoice to see the French slaughtered in thousands, day after day, by overwhelming numbers, while performing prodigies of heroism.

But those who were so sure at the beginning that Prussia was forced into war against her will—that she drew the sword reluctantly and only in self-defence—have now abundant evidence to the contrary. First, King William assured the world that he made war on Louis Napoleon and his dynasty, not on the French people; but when the emperor surrenders, the world sees how much that assurance was worth. Now it is against the republic, not against the emperor, his Prussian majesty makes war; he rather thinks that Napoleon III. may be the best ruler for France after all! On reflection, he has a fellow-feeling for his prisoner; he does not know but his own case may one day be still worse; that he would need to fly from his own people, as it may be remembered he once had before.

For our own part we certainly have no wish to see the emperor harshly treated; we cannot forget that, whatever were his faults, literature, science, and art had no better friend among the sovereigns of Europe. Nor do we know any chief magistrate of a republic, not excepting General Grant, whom a man of letters might more easily approach, or approach with a fuller consciousness that he would be kindly and considerately treated. Still less can we forget all he has done for France, especially for Paris. If the French will receive him back then as their ruler, either because Prussia declared it was against him she made war, or because Prussia now wishes to restore him to his throne, we have no objection to make; we shall sympathize with the French in their adversity, let their form of government be what it may, although we should prefer that they would maintain the republic.

In so promptly recognizing the new government, President Grant has done one thing which merits the hearty approval of every American. But if he served the French people much more than this, neither he nor the great nation whose chief magistrate he is would ever have any cause to regret it. We

do not mean that he should offer to go to war. Nothing of the kind would be necessary. But there is really no reason why a great power like the United States should be any more afraid to speak out in a crisis of this kind than any European power; not one of those powers would have less to fear in asserting its preferences and wishes than ourselves. If it be manly and right on the part of Russia, Austria, or any other power to protest against the dismemberment of France, why should it not be equally so on our part? Are we, who ought to feel as independent as was the Roman empire in its palmyest days, to look on in silence while "our Fritz" threatens to despoil France of Alsace and Lorraine? Neither Washington, nor Jefferson, nor Franklin meant that we should never advance any views in regard to European affairs lest we might give offence to some European government. It should be remembered that what was excellent and statesmanlike advice when our whole population was less than three millions would be entirely different when we increased to forty millions. Should we be more cautious of getting into trouble in the cause of humanity and justice than the tiny republic of Switzerland, which does not hesitate to send its deputies to Berlin to intercede for heroic, mutilated Strasbourg? Is the eagle to be more timid than the wren? We hope the facts will prove the contrary.

To us no nation in Europe would be more formidable than England on account of her immense navy; yet we do not hesitate to urge on her what we think right. As for Prussia, if she were so sensitive and arrogant as to resent an energetic expression on our part in favor of peace and against the dismemberment of France, whether on account of our being a republic or any other cause, what need we care about her resentment? Her half dozen war vessels could do us no harm. Three or four of our iron-clads, commanded by Admiral Porter, could dispose of the whole Prussian fleet; nor are we peculiar in this opinion. We heard it expressed in the heart of Germany, as well as in England, not five months ago. But

there is not the least probability that any such collision will ever take place.

That President Grant should speak out boldly against the dismemberment of France would not be in any manner incompatible with our maintaining our present friendly relations with Prussia, still less incompatible would it be with our continuing to entertain towards our German fellow-citizens that esteem and regard to which their industrious and orderly habits, with many other excellent qualities, so justly entitle them.

As for bombarding Paris, we cannot believe that the sovereign of any enlightened country would be guilty of such barbarism; it is no exaggeration to say that it would be a disgrace to all Germany. What a commentary it would be on the superior enlightenment claimed for Prussia! What worse could the Goths, the Vandals, or the Huns have done than to destroy a city confessedly the most beautiful and the most delightful in the world?

We forbear, therefore, to discuss the consequences of such a proceeding; we will merely transcribe a remark which we made in our article on Euripides more than a year ago: "When Athens was captured by Lysander, it was proposed in a council of the allies to destroy the city. The council was followed by a banquet which was attended by all the generals; but it happened that a musician from Phocæa, who had been invited to it, recited, either by accident or design, a few verses from the piece in which Euripides describes the humiliation of Electra, reduced by Egisthus to the condition of a slave precipitated from a palace to a hut. The guests were so deeply affected by this touching portraiture of misfortune, by its striking relation to the humiliation of Athens, reminding all as it did of the glory of that city which had produced so many great works and illustrious men, that they unanimously changed their resolution, and scorned to make such cruel use of their victory."\*

Is King William willing to appear in history as a contrast

\* *Nat. Quar. Rev.*, No. xxxvii.—Authorities, Aulus Gellius, i., 17; Le Fèvre, *Vies des Poètes Grecs*, p. 9, etc., etc.

to Lysander? Is there no passage in the philosophers, naturalists, poets, or historians of France capable of exciting a generous emotion in "our Fritz?" Does civilization, nay, does Prussia, owe nothing to the French Academy or the Institute? But we have confidence that, at worst, Paris will defend herself.

Nevertheless, if she is bombarded, every friend of civilization should protest. In either case, if the war is continued any longer on the part of Prussia, thus falsifying before the world the proclamations and promises of King William to the French people, President Grant will have an opportunity of rendering himself illustrious in European history without the use of sword or gun—without in any manner compromising the great republic.

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#### NOTICES AND CRITICISMS.

##### EDUCATION.

*Catalogues of Schools, Seminaries, Colleges, etc.* 1870.

At the present moment the public mind is too much occupied with the Prusso-French war to devote much attention even to so important a subject as education. Nor does that calamity affect any one more profoundly than it does ourselves. We think that no one who has any due appreciation of the triumphs of science and art can contemplate without emotion the most beautiful city in the world—a city which for centuries has been the acknowledged head of European civilization—surrounded as Paris is to day with armies which threaten to destroy it. For, may we not ask, what other city of the modern world has done so much for education, or for the development of the human mind, as the seat of the French Academy?—the favorite abode of a host of the most illustrious thinkers, including fair, delicate women of masculine intellect, who are an honor to their sex in all that is noble and elevating in the female character.

We confess that with such a spectacle before us—while the nation that threatens to play the part of the Vandal and the Hun claims a superior enlightenment—we are in no mood to enter into any lengthened disquisi-

tion on the uses and value of learning. On the present occasion, therefore, we will confine ourselves to some brief general remarks, making only a passing criticism here and there when we think it is eminently deserved, and presenting such evidences as are within our reach of the progress and success of those institutions which we know have just claims on the good-will of all who know the value of thorough instruction. But even in a hurried glance we must not forget that there are difficulties to be removed, and this reminds us of an anecdote of the olden time preserved by Lucian, which runs somewhat as follows :

It is said that when Pythagoras returned to Samos, his native town, after an absence of twenty-five years, the first request made of him by his fellow citizens was that he would visit all their schools and academies and compare them with those he had seen in his travels in foreign countries in search of knowledge. As the cause of education was always dear to him he was glad to have an opportunity of ascertaining what progress had been made in his absence. When it was supposed he had had sufficient opportunity and time to form an opinion a deputation of the elders waited on him in order to obtain it. Pythagoras was not slow to understand that, while the Samians in general wished to know the truth on the subject, the Samian teachers only wished to have themselves ranked above all others; and it so happened that, of the twelve elders that composed the deputation, ten were teachers belonging to the different schools, and the remaining two belonged to a tribe of *quasi* pious sophists whose chief business it was to visit the different schools on "exhibition days" and deliver orations in praise of the teachers and the wonderful work they were doing. It may easily be understood that even the sage felt a little puzzled; especially when he found that two-thirds of the sophists (*puffers*) delivered exactly the same oration in praise of several schools and teachers as different from each other as ignorance and pretension are different from knowledge and culture!

Pythagoras hesitated, but the deputation insisted, blandly but earnestly. "But you will not be pleased if I do give my opinion," says Pythagoras, "and I am very unwilling to disoblige you." This seeming ominous one of the deputation says: "We have twenty academies, whereas Coreyra has only two." "Ah, but the two academies of Coreyra are better than your twenty! Supposing the Coreyrians would call their schools academies as you do? But my advice would rather be that you call most of your academies schools." The elders were highly indignant; they issued a sort of proclamation to the Samians informing them that one or other of two things was certain; either the learning of Pythagoras was immensely overrated, or he was bribed by the Coreyrians!

Now we may as well admit that there is a very great resemblance between our case and that of the Samians. We have more colleges and universities than all the nations of Europe from the Tagus to the White

sea. For every one those old nations have we boast at least a score. Nay, the number of our female colleges and universities alone is far greater than that of all the literary institutions of Europe!

Supposing the advice of Pythagoras were applied to those female institutions of ours. Would anything be lost by it? Would our young ladies be less thoroughly educated? Our readers will remember that it is nothing new for us to maintain that a school for young ladies is nothing the better for being called a college or a university, or nothing the worse for being called merely a school. Far from finding any superior virtue in the high-sounding name, we have almost invariably found the reverse. One of the first institutions we felt it our duty to criticise in this journal was a so-called female university or college, situated in the Fifth Avenue in this city, but which ceased to exist very soon after.

We do not claim that our exposition of the sort of learning taught at that institution was the cause of its untimely end, though it may perhaps have somewhat hastened the catastrophe. We merely record the fact as evidence that, although brass may be called gold, it is nevertheless the vulgar, not the precious, metal. In short, those who think that the education obtained at our female colleges is superior to that obtained at our first-class female schools or academies are much mistaken; it is really the reverse. And in a moral point of view the difference is still greater—so great, indeed, that few are prepared to believe it. The display and tinsel of our female colleges are expected to make up for the neglect of the honest, thorough culture upon which alone the respectable female school depends for its reputation and success.

Great importance is attached to the degree given by the college, not only by those who give it, but also by a certain class which we need not now describe, although even when it is received by the best student of the institution it is nothing better than the diploma or certificate given at first-class schools; such for example as those of the Rev. Dr. Van Norman and Mlle. Rostan in this city. For our own part we know no female college anywhere whose "degree" we should respect more than the simple certificate of either of these schools; whereas there are some female colleges whose degree we regard pretty much as we do that of the firm of quack doctors in this city who style their miraculous nostrums "the University medicines."

Nor are we by any means sure that the morality of our nostrum manufacturing "universities" is of a more questionable character than that of the female colleges alluded to. By this, however, we do not mean to attribute any libidinous propensities to either class of doctors, or anything that would necessarily compromise the virtue of the ladies who purchase the medicines of the one or the knowledge of the other. But if the quack doctors are in the habit of paying their grocers, coal-dealers, or printers by worthless checks "from the President's room," we

are not aware of the fact, whereas certain presidents of female colleges, somewhere in the United States, are very much misrepresented if they do not issue degrees of this kind as often as LL.D's. If so may it not be held that one document is pretty nearly as worthless as the other?

Perhaps, however, both parties are entitled to some credit. Be it remembered that among the ancient Spartans it was considered highly meritorious on the part of educators to teach their pupils what they were ignorant of themselves; they were compared to the enchanted pitcher of Leucadia, which, while it contained nothing but a sort of beverage similar to modern small beer or *lager*, yet by means of some magic words could, in an emergency, be made to yield wine or honey.

Now, as ever, Trojan and Tyrian, catholic and protestant, jesuit and presbyterian are the same to us. Let those whom we take the liberty of criticising say what they will, we are not in the slightest degree influenced by their religion; although we could wish for their own sake that our catholic educators in general were as tolerant of criticism as our protestant educators. If the latter are criticised they never proclaim, as far as we are aware, that it is on account of their creed; it is true that the better class of the former are equally incapable of making such a pretext.

We have remarked on a former occasion that when the jesuits were really a learned body liberal protestants had no better friends. Their generous treatment of the illustrious Kepler is an example of this. True, those of them who are really learned at the present day are equally free from bigotry and intolerance, but the misfortune is that there are so few of this class! Accordingly, we fear that, if even the Legislator of the Heavens lived in our time, and published a journal that ventured to find fault with any member of the society on account of his ignorance or his impudence, or both, as an educator, and that some catholic tailor happened to patronize that journal for the purpose of exhibiting his "new styles" to respectable people, our modern jesuits would straightway call on the tailor and teach him to make more pious use of his patronage in future. As for blaming the poor tailor for doing what he is told in such circumstances it were almost as unreasonable to blame the lamb for trembling at the sight of the fox's tail.

Thus we honor what deserves honor in the past; we honor what would maintain that honor in the present; and we condemn what tarnishes that honor. This is our feeling in regard to the Catholic church. We have always acknowledged that whatever errors some of its dignitaries may have committed, no church has done so much for the development and refinement of the human mind; and we shall ever continue to acknowledge the same, no matter how much we may be denounced by parties whose pious wrath against us, for criticisms never tinged in the slightest degree with sectarianism, is, as every intelligent catholic as



well as protestant is aware, merely a cloak for their own individual incapacity.

In accordance with this feeling we do not make the slightest difference between the University of New York and Columbia College and the colleges of the jesuits and the christian brothers, any further than we believe that one, two, or three perform their work more intelligently and more thoroughly than the rest; still less, if possible, would we make any distinction on sectarian grounds between the institutions of Dr. Van Norman, Mlle. Rostan, etc., and those of the Ladies of the Sacred Heart, the Sisters of the Holy Cross, the Sisters of the Visitation, etc.

Those who pretend the contrary are much more disposed to injure the prestige of the best catholic colleges than we. Thus, for example, how long would Manhattan College and the College of the Christian Brothers of St. Louis continue to exist if the gentlemen we allude to could set them aside so that they should not be a constant commentary, by their superior system and its success, on the difference between the real learning of the past and the pretended learning of the present? This is no mere conjecture; we could furnish curious but convincing evidence of it. Upon the other hand have we, as a protestant, evinced any such jealousy or ill-will? Have we not, on the contrary, always rejoiced at the steady progress of those institutions, showing that there are monks at the present day in America that are worthy successors of those who, in the past, founded institutions like the universities of Oxford and Cambridge—monks also who possess all that liberality of feeling toward liberal protestants which characterized jesuits in Kepler's time, but which, as a body, the jesuits of the present day, at least the American branch, have lost with their learning? That there are still, even in this country, a few excellent educators among the Jesuits we have always acknowledged; but such is the peculiar system by which the society is governed, that its most learned and able men are too often placed under the control of men who have neither learning nor ability, except the ability of advising weak-minded people to stultify themselves.

We should like to give details illustrative of the progress of these institutions, male and female, which, in our opinion, have the strongest claims on the friends of education, but the limited space which we have prescribed for this article, for the reason mentioned above, precludes us from doing so. Fortunately, it is not necessary; we take some pride in knowing that the classes we address are not such as require many words in order to understand a plain fact. It is sufficient, for instance, to say of Manhattan College that it has the same president and vice-president it had a year, three years, and eight years since, and that both these gentlemen are as much devoted to the good cause to-day, and as careful that their whole staff of professors shall perform their duties fully and faithfully, as they were at any of the periods we have mentioned. That far

from relaxing in their efforts, time only increases their eagerness to do all the good in their power, may be inferred from the important additions they have made to the college buildings during the past term; so that the institution has a very different appearance to the passer-by, especially on the Hudson side, from what it had a year ago. But still more important improvements have been made in the interior. Our readers will bear in mind the high classical standard of Manhattan College; we have, on several occasions, expressed our sincere admiration of the familiar, accurate acquaintance of the higher classes with the Greek and the Latin, especially the latter. Seeing that there has not been as much improvement as usual in these departments lately, the authorities of the institution have secured the services of a Greek and Latin scholar, who is abundantly competent, and as willing as he is competent, to restore the classic spirit in its full vigor. A very general complaint made against the catholic colleges of New York and New Jersey is, that their professors being principally foreigners, their English is almost as defective as their Latin; but all capable of judging, who know the president and vice president of Manhattan, will bear testimony that none are more thorough masters of the Anglo-Saxon.

The St. Louis College of the Christian Brothers occupies a position in the South relative to other institutions similar to that occupied by Manhattan in the North. We have before us the testimony of several southern journals, protestant and catholic, as to its superior excellence. In this instance, also, the gentleman who is president to-day was president eight years ago, has been president during the whole of the intervening period, and doubtless will be president until prevented by age. The same is true of the whole faculty, except in rare instances. The superiors of the christian brothers make no changes in these respects, whereas the jesuits, on the contrary, are constantly changing—a fact which, combined with others we have mentioned, may account for the different results accomplished by the two great orders of educators.

It is worthy of remark that the jesuits of St. Louis (who call their institution a university) are as jealous of the St. Louis College of the Christian Brothers as the jesuits of Fordham and New York are of Manhattan. There are jesuits, however, who are far above any such unworthy feeling; this is true, for example, of those of Georgetown College and Loyola College. But much more than is generally supposed depends upon the archbishop in whose diocese the college is situated. If the archbishop is but imperfectly educated, it is not likely that the jesuit professors sent to his diocese will be more learned than he; if, upon the other hand, he is known to be a thorough scholar, efforts will be made to send him jesuits whose scholarship he can approve. The present archbishop of Baltimore is confessedly one of the most learned men that America has produced, and his immediate predecessor was similarly dis-

tinguished; then, be it remembered, that Georgetown, the best jesuit college in the United States, belongs to the arch-diocese of Baltimore.

For some time, indeed, that institution has been somewhat under a cloud. Father Maguire, its late president, is, we are willing to believe, a conscientious, faithful priest, but a very indifferent college president. If he had an opportunity in his youth of obtaining a liberal education he did not avail himself of it to a sufficient extent, and this has caused him to commit sundry blunders as an educator, when no doubt he meant to be very wise and instructive, as well as pious.

Be this as it may, the gentleman now at the head of Georgetown is an educator of the first rank, although we know he would rather yield the palm to his predecessor. We, however, take the liberty of expressing our own opinions; none but ourselves are responsible for them. Father Early had elevated the prestige of Georgetown before the administration of Father Maguire; he merely returns to the charge of an institution from which he should never have been removed, if the most brilliant success as an educator could have given him any claim to remain, according to the laws of the society, which are somewhat similar to those of the Medes and Persians.

Remarks, very nearly similar, apply with equal force to Father Clark, who, we understand, is now the president of Loyola College, at Baltimore. This is the gentleman who acquitted himself so ably as the president of Holy Cross College, Worcester, that the puritanical, anti-popery commonwealth of Massachusetts could no longer withhold a charter for that institution. These changes indicate that, whoever is provincial of the arch-diocese of Baltimore at present, he understands his duty. We wish we could say the same of our New York provincial, but we fear the latter has much to learn before he can do much good as an educator.

Nearly a year ago we visited the Cornell University with the intention of giving our impressions of it in full, but finding that it was still merely in an incipient state we did not deem it just to criticise it; accordingly, we have hitherto said nothing on the subject. Dr. White, the president, is, we think, well calculated for the position he occupies. He is an intelligent gentleman, of very agreeable manners, who evidently wishes to conceal nothing which he thinks the public ought to know. But there can be no harm in remarking now that much of what we saw during our visit reminded us but too forcibly of Vassar College; we may have been mistaken, but it seemed to us more political and sectarian than either literary or scientific. A considerable proportion of the students were mechanics, who had to work some hours daily at their respective trades. *Per contra*, it occurred to us that the proportion between sinecures and professorships was more like compound proportion than any other. In this, also, we may have been mistaken, although we were positively assured that in order to become a prominent member of

the faculty of Cornell University, little more was necessary than to secure a letter from one or two or three of our newspaper editors, who never learned any more profound science than "the Rule of Three," or any other language, ancient or modern, than the vernacular. The manner in which this easy process of making professors was accounted for to us by an intelligent lawyer we happened to meet at Ithaca was this: "When two or three, supposed to be Thebans, and well paid on that supposition, deliver occasional 'lectures,' then the Bœotians who, poor fellows, want money, too, may do the rest—that is, they may teach others what they never learned themselves!" Be this as it may, there were some features of the institution which struck us as not very refining in their influence. But, as already intimated, it is yet premature to judge Cornell University; we will try to see it again before we attempt to do so.

But a word before we close in regard to female schools and academies. In glancing right and left in this hurried way at educational institutions and educators, we should not forget that the best friends of female education will be glad to learn that the new buildings for the Rev. Dr. Van Norman's school are nearly completed. This, our readers will remember, we have always regarded as a model institution. We certainly indulge in no exaggeration when we remark, in passing, that we have witnessed better Latin translating by the young ladies of the principal class in this school than we did in any of several classes we saw at one of the two best colleges of New England; and yet, in our opinion, the young ladies acquitted themselves no better in Latin than they did in French, natural philosophy, history, composition, drawing, painting, etc.

Of a similar grade is the French and English Protestant school of Mlle. Rostan. In no other institution is a thorough English education, including drawing, painting, and music more successfully combined with a practical familiarity with the French and such other modern languages as the students, or their parents, happen to prefer. But, on the present occasion, we have to introduce to our readers a new school for young ladies—that of Mrs. Ida Morris, daughter of the late General George P. Morris, author of "Woodman, Spare that Tree," and many other excellent lyrics. The new academy is delightfully situated at Undercliff, Cold Spring, on the Hudson, the buildings and grounds being those occupied for many years by the poet, and justly celebrated for their picturesque beauty and salubrity. Mrs. Morris is a lady of superior culture, and she has secured the assistance of a corps of accomplished teachers, whose course of instruction embraces all those branches, both useful and ornamental, taught at our first class schools.

It is well known that there are several of the catholic sisterhoods that conduct female academies which are unsurpassed in their general excellence. It is almost superfluous to mention to any intelligent per-

son in this country that the Academy of the Sacred Heart, at Manhattanville, near the New York Central Park, is an institution of this character. There are no more accomplished teachers of any denomination than the excellent ladies who have charge of it; nor are any more distinguished for their enlightened liberality of sentiment or freedom from sectarian prejudice. Accordingly, the best class of protestants, as well as catholics, are glad to place their daughters under their care. Manhattan may, indeed, well be proud of having such institutions as the Academy of the Sacred Heart and Manhattan College. We hope the ladies will excuse us if we say that the professors of St. John's and St. Xavier's, as well as those of St. Vassar, might learn useful lessons from the two unpretending institutions of Manhattanville. It is certain that if the former performed their work so faithfully, intelligently, and noiselessly as the latter they would have no cause to fear, hate, or abuse critics or reviews.

Another institution of which we have long entertained a high opinion is St. Mary's Academy, Notre Dame, Indiana. Several years ago, when travelling in the West, we had the honor of an invitation to visit it; and we have seldom been more agreeably surprised anywhere. We may be excused for taking some pride in the fact that we have always been treated most kindly by the best educators and the heads of the best institutions; never been treated rudely in any part of the world except by educators and heads of institutions of the opposite class. At Harvard and Yale, as well as at the University of New York, Columbia College, and Manhattan College, we have been conducted in the kindest manner to every class-room we cared to see. At the female institutions, whether catholic or protestant, whether under the charge of ladies or gentlemen, our experience has been exactly the same. Upon the other hand, inferior institutions—or perhaps we should rather say inferior educators—are always pretty sure to find some excuse for concealing their operations from those who might criticise them. We may ask, in passing, is it not a singular coincidence that we have found the course of Father Shea, of Fordham, and that of the personage who calls himself the Provost of the University of Pennsylvania, identical in this respect?\*

\* Our readers understand already why it is that Father Shea does not wish his educational performances to be seen save by appreciative, admiring eyes; but the head of the University of Pennsylvania is much misrepresented if his motive in wishing to evade criticism is not somewhat similar. The reader may judge from the following extract from an elaborate article in a Philadelphia morning paper, dated December 29, 1869:

"The fact that it now suffers *from its own feebleness* is its own fault. Let it rouse itself and be alive henceforth, and the public will patronize it as it has patronized Yale, Harvard, Princeton, and other healthy and efficient institutions of learning; but, above all, let it, and those who assume to represent its feelings, sentiments, and interests, be duly grateful for the too large liberality of our city in almost giving it eight acres of ground, worth at least \$160,000 if not \$200,000. Both it and its special friends should remember that this immense donation is made, *not for what the University has done to benefit or honor*

But we could not have been treated more politely anywhere than we were at St. Mary's Academy in the so-called Hoosier State; nowhere has a fuller opportunity been afforded us to see every feature of the institution, and we may truly add that nowhere have we seen more agreeable or more conclusive evidence of good work faithfully and thoroughly performed. And here again we are reminded of the refining influence of the French on our civilization. Both St. Mary's and the University of Notre Dame were established by French educators; at the present moment the intellectual head of the university is a most excellent and amiable French gentleman, the Very Rev. Father Sorin. Thus, whether they be catholics or protestants, priests, nuns, or Huguenots,\* there is not a village or town in the United States in which their refining influence is not felt to a greater or less extent. But the superiority of St. Mary's, and of the whole order of the Sisters of the Holy Cross in this country, is, we believe, an American lady. Be this as it may, it is certain that she is a most accomplished and successful educator—one that would take high rank as such in any country or in any institution.

But our crowded space admonishes us that we can proceed no further. A large pile of catalogues, which we have not been able even to open, lies on our table. It is really in no fault-finding spirit we say that a large proportion of these pamphlets, protestant and catholic, are sufficient to show, of themselves, without further research, that the institutions which they represent are mere shams. We shall try, however, before long, to turn them to some profit; if their promises and style teach no useful lesson they will at least amuse some of our readers.

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*The American Bath for Families and Public Institutions.* Invented by Dr. G. S. DE BONALD, Membre de la Société des Sciences, Arts, et Belles-Lettres de Paris, etc. Pamphlet. New York: D. & L. Sadlier. 1870.

THE salutary influence of water on the human body, both in sickness and in health, when judiciously applied, is now so universally acknowledged in every intelligent community that all that remains to be deter-

*Philadelphia, but for what it is hoped it will hereafter do in this way. Hitherto it has been a sort of fossil museum, visited by few, and valued by fewer of our or any other people."*

It may be that the University of Pennsylvania has ceased to be a "fossil museum" since December last; and we should be just as willing to hope that Fordham has done the same if we saw anything that would justify us in doing so. But we think that radical changes will have to be made—new heads will have to be provided before either of those institutions accomplish much.

\* Instance Mlle. Rostan, Mme. Charlier, etc., etc.

ined in regard to it is, how and to what extent it is to be used, and what are the circumstances in which its use is most beneficial, or in which it may be injurious?

The slender pamphlet before us does not undertake to discuss all these points; as the title implies, its main object is to show how the water may be applied in order to effect the greatest possible amount of good. The author, being a philanthropist as well as a scientific man, has devoted much attention and study to the various kinds of bathing practised at the present day in the principal countries of Europe and America; and one of the results of his researches is the invention of a bathing apparatus which seems destined to supersede all others used by families and public institutions. After describing the different kinds of baths now in use, especially the Russian and the Turkish, and pointing out the advantages as well as the disadvantages of each, Dr. De Bonald proceeds to give a description of his own apparatus, from which we extract the following passage:

"The patient sits comfortably on a chair or steps, carefully wrapped up in blankets; the head and face being uncovered, he breathes freely and drinks every now and then a little cold water to keep up the equilibrium of the circulation; at seventy degrees perspiration breaks out; at ninety degrees it is so abundant that it can be heard dropping down on the floor like rain, still the bather does not experience any inconvenience from it; on the contrary, he feels in good spirits; neuralgic and rheumatic pains disappear, to be succeeded by comfort and quietude; after the sweating bath a general and a movable shower cut short the profuse perspiration, close up the pores of the skin, and by so doing prevent the giving out of internal heat and the introduction of external cold, which would be detrimental to the good effect of the perspiration."

Further than this we can only state two facts; namely, that the De La Salle Institute in this city, under the direction of the Christian Brothers, has already procured the new apparatus; and that the fraternity are far too much devoted to science themselves, and far too careful and conscientious in the treatment of their pupils, to adopt any invention whatever, to be used in their institution, without having fully tested its merits.

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#### BIOGRAPHY AND HISTORY.

*Lives of the Founders of the British Museum, with Notices of its Chief Augmentors and other Benefactors, 1670-1870.* By EDWARD G. EDWARDS. 8vo., pp., 779. London: Trübner & Co. New York: J. W. Bouton. 1870.

WE wish our millionaires would read this volume; and yet we must admit that it is a vain wish. Pooks, save those of the blank kind, are not in their line, still less are libraries. True, there are some of them who would have the world believe that they are so fond of Greek poetry in the original that they cannot retire to rest at night without reading at least a few pages in Homer, Euripides, or Aristophanes. Although we

have never been able to discover the fact, it seems that each of those renowned poets wrote some sort of an essay on dry-goods.

Be this as it may, it was Sophocles, and not either Euripides or Aristophanes, who was so fond of serving his country in an official capacity; but the author of *Antigone* had never to bid money for an office. It was freely given to him, and by no less illustrious a statesman than Pericles. It is true that his works are not the less worthy of study on this account; and yet we confess we more than doubt that there is one of our millionaires that ever read a line of them in the original, or could do so if he got as many more millions for the operation as he has. Still we have great faith in the influence of vanity, especially on millionaires; it is well known that there are those of the tribe who, while they would see their nearest relative perish for lack of the commonest necessities of life, would contribute thousands to some institution, or for the purpose of founding one—not that they cared for the institution one hundredth as much as for the laudation it would be sure to secure them.

We admit that it is on this ground we recommend the volume before us to our millionaires. At the same time far be it from us to insinuate that the principal founders of the British Museum were actuated by any unworthy motives; there is no evidence of anything of the kind, but the reverse. We have not the least doubt that most, if not all of them, were prompted by pure philanthropy. But those good men were not millionaires; they were men who loved books and also loved their race, and had some money or books to spare. In this category we do not include the princes or kings who have contributed, from time to time, to enrich and improve the British Museum; for although we readily acknowledge that princes and kings deserve to be honored for encouraging literature, science, and the arts, by aiding in the foundation of great libraries or other kindred institutions, yet, since such works are to be regarded as forming a part of their duty as public men, it must be held that they are not entitled to so much credit as private individuals, on whom the public have no such claim.

We do not expect that the "*Lives of the Founders of the British Museum*" will be much read in this country by any class, although it should be read by all who take any interest in hoarding together the intellectual wealth of all ages and all nations for the benefit of all, no matter whence they come, who may be in a position to avail themselves of its unspeakable advantages.

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*Erie and Gould and Fisk. A Comparison of the Past and Present Management.* Respectfully dedicated to the stockholders and bondholders generally. By GEORGE CROUCH. 16mo., pp. 162. New York, 1870.



*Twenty third Annual Report of the Board of Directors of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company to the Stockholders. Philadelphia. Svo., pp. 64. 1870.*

It would be difficult to find two pamphlets more unlike than these. One is a New York publication, the other comes from Philadelphia. Our readers will bear us testimony that it is not our habit to make any distinction between one city and another further than to allow the facts relating to each to speak for themselves. We may remark, however, that probably New York has more faults, in general, than Philadelphia; but we think it may be added that it has also more virtues. Be this as it may, were both cities judged by these pamphlets, or rather by the railroad companies which they represent, respectively, Philadelphia might well be regarded as vastly the superior of New York. That it is superior in its principal railroad companies we must admit; as much superior as New York is to Philadelphia in its insurance companies; and the difference is immense.

But to the work before us. The Erie pamphlet is a glorification of Fisk and Gould, and in proportion as it eulogizes those very respectable and honorable "managers" it abuses such of their opponents or predecessors as Vanderbilt, Drew, etc. We do not say that the latter—especially Vanderbilt—do not fully merit even the worst that is said of them in this precious pamphlet. The manner in which the Erie is managed is discreditable enough, as all who have recently paid any attention to its affairs are well aware; but we think it may fairly be doubted whether the travellers on the Erie are treated so outrageously, especially in the matter of "extra baggage," as the travellers on the Harlem and Hudson River roads; we are convinced from experience and observation that they could not be treated worse, at all events. Two hours, or even one hour at the Harlem depot in July or August last, when our citizens were rushing to the country to seek some shelter, if such were possible, from the intense heat, would have satisfied any one capable of being convinced on this point. For our own part, we could not help regarding much of what we saw as downright robbery. Surely, thought we, men who can levy money on the public in this way and at this rate may well become millionaires; what other people on earth would submit to such bare faced extortion? \*

\* We may mention as an illustration, that exactly the same "extra baggage," for which the Harlem road charged a family of three persons \$4.50, the South Side road of Long Island charged but seventy-five (75) cents for the same distance. The cause of the difference between the twain being nothing more nor less than that one road is managed by men of a certain character, whereas the other is managed by men whose character is the reverse. Moreover, some of the articles for which the Harlem road charged this extortionate rate were missing for some days; then when they were found the owner had again to pay extra, on the ground that they had to be sent by express. That is, one has to pay, under the domination of Vanderbilt *et fils*, even for being delayed and put to much inconvenience!

But let us give a specimen of the Erie style of belles-lettres—just enough to show how characteristic it is:

"Aware of the fact that a very considerable quantity of the *figurative dirt* with which the reputations of these men have been so *profusely bespattered* acquired adhesive properties in consequence of the utter contempt with which those who hurled it were regarded; and that—in spite of all that has been done since Gould and Fisk were at length roused to self-defence, in order to preserve the credit of the corporation—so much *yet sticks*, the writer confidently anticipates, etc."

We quote one other *morceau*, although but few will understand it in its whole scope, because there are but few who have any adequate idea of the utter demoralization of certain of those who control some of the most important interests of the country:

"Absurd as is the mistake made by the English party, it is in a measure excusable, seeing how grossly they have been imposed upon by the agents of the two men, of all others, Drew and Vanderbilt, whose *in-extinguishable* greed has been to Erie the 'direful spring of woes unnumbered.' The disastrous results of the operations of this wonderfully well-matched pair of veteran financiers are too well known on this side to be recapitulated here."—Page 91.

The "insatiable greed" is, indeed, but too obvious. Whether a more greedy person, or one possessed of less principle than Vanderbilt has ever existed, may perhaps be regarded as an open question; but we think that Fisk and Gould may claim to rival him in that respect as hopefully as they do in others. Be this as it may, it is pleasant to turn from the Erie to the Pennsylvania pamphlet, and it so happens that in so doing the first page we turn to is one in which the "insatiable greed" of Erie is but too forcibly illustrated. Thus, in addressing the shareholders of the Pennsylvania road, Mr. J. Edgar Thompson, a very different man from Gould, Fisk, or Vanderbilt, makes the following remarks:

"Extensive surveys were accordingly made of the regions east of Pittsburgh by that Company, to find a suitable line for its object, which was followed by material pecuniary advances to a Railway Company whose road it was proposed to use as a part of this rival route to the East; but during the progress of these movements an effort was inaugurated by the Erie Railway Board to absorb not only the Pittsburgh, Fort Wayne, and Chicago line, but nearly all the western connections of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, which only failed from a misapprehension of the terms of the law under which they proposed to accomplish their object, and subsequent adverse legislation procured by the President of the Fort Wayne Company.

"In view of these extraordinary movements, it became evident to your Board, that this Company must depart from the policy that had heretofore governed it, and obtain direct control of its western connections. Negotiations were accordingly opened with the Directors of the Pittsburgh, Fort Wayne, and Chicago Railway Company, who had also become apprehensive (under the vicious system that had been developed in New York, by which stock and bondholders of railways and their agents sold their proxies to vote at the elections of the Company without any regard to the interests involved in the issue), that their own work might fall into hands whose object would be to seriously impair the permanent interests of their constituents."—Pp. 15, 16.

This is but too characteristic; yet why may not Gould and Fisk expect to inaugurate bronze statues commemorative of their great exploits

before many years, and secure the services of distinguished divines and politicians to prove, by elaborate and high-flown orations, how eminently they have merited such distinctions by their genius, philanthropy, and public spirit!

We fear there is not much use in trying to induce such of our fellow-citizens as Vanderbilt, Fisk, Gould, etc., to imitate any good example; still, we will essay the following passage, taken from Mr. Thompson's report:

"This Company has not attempted, neither does it propose to absorb the natural connections of either of the other trunk lines. There is business sufficient to give to each of these companies ample revenues to meet the interest upon any reasonable cost of their works, if equitable rates between the shipper and railway company are at all times preserved, and without a resort by one line to take from another, by reduced charges, business which it otherwise would have had an equal chance to secure at fair prices. Such attempts, though so often repeated, have at all times failed to secure the professed object in view."  
—Pp. 18, 19.

Has any one ever known Gould, Fisk, or Vanderbilt to be guided by principles like these? If so we should be glad to know the fact, in order that the due credit should be given for it.

The managers of the Camden and Amboy road have often been severely censured; sometimes they may have deserved it for ought we know to the contrary. But of this we are convinced, that Mr. Gatzmer, president of that road, is quite as different from Gould, Fisk, and Vanderbilt as Mr. Thompson is, or any other upright honorable man. But no matter how much we might extend our comparisons, the pre-eminence of our New York railroad managers in "insatiable greed" and utter lack of principle, as compared to those of Philadelphia, would remain undisputable.

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*Life of Charles Dickens.* By R. SHELTON MACKENZIE, LL.D., with Personal Recollections and Anecdotes. Letters by "Boz," never before published; and Uncollected Papers in Prose and Verse, with Portrait and Autograph. 12mo., pp. 484. Philadelphia: J. B. Peterson & Co.

WE have received within the last month not fewer than half a dozen books, each purporting to be the Life of Charles Dickens; but that now before us is the only one which does justice to the subject. This, indeed, we had expected. When the name of Doctor Mackenzie was first mentioned as the biographer of Dickens, it required but a slight effort of the memory on our part to feel convinced that no one combines so many of the essential qualifications for the task. A fact or two in addition to those generally known to our readers will, we think, fully justify us in our estimate.

Be it remembered that the doctor has been devoted to the profession of literature for fully half a century; nearly, if not quite, half of this period he resided in London or its vicinity. A man of liberal education, decided literary tastes and abilities, and genial, conciliatory disposition, writing alternately for several leading literary journals, could not have failed to secure the friendship of a large number of the *literati*. Accordingly, it is well known that no one connected with the London press had a larger circle of literary friends than Dr. Mackenzie; and among those friends were numbered some of the most eminent authors and authoresses of his time. But with none was he more intimate than he was with Dickens for several years. Before the present work—a veritable “labor of love”—was undertaken, we were aware, not only that Dr. Mackenzie possessed these advantages but also that he well knew how to avail himself of them. The latter fact was sufficiently proved by his admirable annotations of several famous works, including Sheridan’s *Speeches*, Barrington’s *Sketches*, *Noctes Ambrosiana*, etc.

From all this we had, as we have said, the utmost confidence in the resources and abilities of Dr. Mackenzie; and that our expectations have been fully realized is but a feeble expression of the pleasure which we have derived from the volume before us. We can assure our readers that we indulge in no exaggeration when we say that our feeling on reading it was one of astonishment that such a multifarious variety of interesting facts, anecdotes, reminiscences, gossip, *and*, etc., etc., could have been put together in so agreeable and attractive a form within a period which most literary men would have occupied in preparing the materials.

We might fill many pages with anecdotes, reminiscences, and other choice *morceaux* from Mackenzie’s Dickens which are really more valuable as well as more interesting by themselves than many a whole volume published at the present day; but we have discussed the works of Dickens so much in our pages, we have had so much to say from time to time about the great novelist himself; finally, not permitting ourselves to go to press, on hearing of his death, without joining in the general expression of sorrow for a loss so great—that it would be superfluous for us to do anything more now than merely to recommend the volume before us to the myriads of Dickens’ admirers.

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*Life of Daniel Webster.* By GEORGE TICKNOR CURTIS, one of his Literary Executors. 2 vols. 8vo., pp. 589-729. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1870.

Our attention has been called to these volumes by one of our friends of the legal fraternity who is a warm admirer of the great New England orator; otherwise they would not have found their way to our table, except we had purchased them at the market price, for the reason that the Messrs. Appleton belong to that class of publishers who will send their books only to such editors or public writers as they believe will bestow a certain amount of unmingled praise and admiration on them. As long as it was thought that we would be as appreciative and accommodating as others in this respect, we were almost overwhelmed with the publications of that house; but as soon as it became known that we are in the habit of distinguishing brass from gold and chaff from wheat the Messrs. Appleton's books ceased to make their appearance on our table.

But we are not the less willing on this account to acknowledge the value of these volumes. Even our legal friend has not a higher appreciation of the genius of Webster than we have ourselves, and we are also quite willing to do Mr. Ticknor Curtis the justice to admit that he has acquitted himself creditably as the chosen biographer of one whose memory—whatever may have been his faults—must ever be dear to the American people. Besides giving us a lucid and pleasing narrative, embodying all events and incidents in the life of Webster with which the public has a right to be made acquainted, the biographer furnishes very judicious selections from his speeches and correspondence. It is almost superfluous to remark that the life of Webster, from the time he became of age until his death, especially since he entered Congress, is indissolubly associated with the history of his country during the same period. To this we need only add that the Life before us has the advantage of a copious alphabetical index, which, for obvious reasons, greatly enhances its value.

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*Pastoral Letter of the Most Rev. M. J. SPALDING, D.D., Archbishop of Baltimore, to the Clergy and Laity of the Archdiocese on the Papal Infallibility. Written in Rome July 19, 1870. Pp. 40. Baltimore: Kelly, Piet & Co. 1870.*

WE have seen many pamphlets and letters on Infallibility during the last six months; some written by distinguished dignitaries of the church; some by pious and learned Catholic laymen; but the "Pastoral Letter" of Archbishop Spalding is, for several reasons, most worthy of the attention of our readers. We had expected an able discussion of the subject

from so learned, enlightened, and liberal a prelate as the author of the "History of the Protestant Reformation," and we readily acknowledge that our expectations have been fully realized.

We do not pretend to believe that any mortal is infallible. At the same time we have no fault to find with the new dogma; we regard it pretty much in the same light as we do several other dogmas or doctrines of the Catholic church. Thus, for example, we do not believe in auricular confession as essential to christianity; but we are convinced from observation and experience that it has been productive of much good in various ways, in all parts of the world, among a very large class; especially in causing the restitution of stolen property and preventing contemplated crimes. Accordingly, far from opposing confession, we would advise all members of the "dangerous classes"—all household servants, male and female, including butlers, cooks, and chambermaids, to go to it at least once a month, feeling satisfied that if they do not return better men and women they will at least be nothing the worse for it.

We are willing to believe, also, that when the same classes regard the pope as infallible, his restraining influence upon them, exercised through their clergy, will be much increased. By all means then we say, *placet* to the new dogma, especially as the exposition of Dr. Spalding satisfies us that it is a much more harmless thing, viewed politically and socially, than it was regarded by most protestants at the outset and is still regarded by many. An extract or two from the "Pastoral" itself will explain this fuller than any remarks of ours. First, the archbishop gives a brief but very graphic and interesting description of the Council Hall. Then he proceeds:

"The Vatican Council is composed of Bishops from all the quarters of the globe—from Europe, Asia, America, Africa, Australia, and the Islands of the Sea; they speak many languages, but they are all of one faith, and, in one sense, they are all of one tongue. The Latin language is still that of the Church, and her far-seeing wisdom and world-wide view are strikingly exhibited in the fact, that *all the business of the Council is transacted, and all the orations are delivered in this language*, which on this very spot more than eighteen centuries ago was spoken with so much grace and dignity by Cicero and Ennius—another striking historical co-incidence, in which we find extremes meeting."

We have taken the liberty of underlining a part of this extract for the benefit of some of our catholic colleges that have regarded us as very sensorious because we ventured to advise them to learn to teach the Latin a little more thoroughly than they do. Of course we do not allude to any such learned and enlightened institutions as Fordham and Seton Hall, whose Latin is nearly as good as their English; although, perhaps not quite so classical as their skill in billiard-playing and certain other games. Passing over the strictly theological part of the "Pastoral," we proceed to the archbishop's explanation of what is meant by "Infallibility":

"And lest any one should be led into error as to the nature and extent of this Pontifical Infallibility, and lest the enemies of the Church should take occasion from the definition to misrepresent and calumniate us, We deem it Our duty, in officially promulgating the doctrine, to explain first what this Infallibility is not, and secondly what it is. In doing this, We shall not have occasion to depart from the tenor of the Record itself, which either plainly expresses or clearly implies all that We shall have occasion to state in illustration or explanation.

"I.—WHAT THE PAPAL INFALLIBILITY IS NOT.

"1st. It is not impeccability or immunity from sin. The Pope regularly confesses his sins to the priest of Christ, like all other good Christians, and by the divine law, he is bound to do so as much as any other. Every day, before ascending the holy altar, he proclaims himself a sinner before God, before saints, angels, and men, and he thrice strikes his breast saying *mea culpa*—through my fault, through my fault, through my exceeding great fault. He makes the offertory for 'his innumerable sins, offences, and negligences,' and before the communion he again strikes his breast thrice, uttering the words of the centurion: 'Lord I am not worthy that Thou shouldst enter under my roof.' He spends whole hours every day in prayer for himself and for the whole flock of Christ divinely committed to his care, with a deep feeling of the fearful responsibility resting upon him to answer before the Great Shepherd, whose Vicar he is, for their salvation.—P. 12.

It seems difficult to understand how his holiness can commit "innumerable sins," etc., and yet be infallible, but it must be admitted that there are other things which are firmly believed by both Catholics and Protestants that are equally inscrutable. But to those having sufficient faith all are sufficiently plain. However, let the Archbishop explain:

"2. Infallibility does not attach to the Pope as a private person, nor as a temporal sovereign, nor as a private doctor writing or stating his own theological opinions; nor even as Pope delivering decisions in particular judicial cases depending for their merits on the testimony of men, much less in the words and acts of his ordinary life, outside the spiritual domain of faith and morals, of church discipline and government.

"3. The Papal Infallibility is not *inspiration*, such as was possessed by the prophets and apostles; nor is it a new *revelation* making known a new doctrine; but it is only a *divine assistance*, by which, though naturally of themselves weak and fallible, the Pontiffs are divinely enabled 'holily to preserve and faithfully to expound the revelation or deposit of the faith delivered through the apostles.'

In our opinion this should satisfy the most sensitive and most timid among Protestants; it shows that Infallibility does not mean a great deal after all. The other side of the question, however, is the difficult one. Protestants will readily admit that it is easy enough to point out the circumstances in which the Pope is *not* infallible; to point out those in which he is infallible is quite another matter. If the Archbishop of Baltimore has not entirely succeeded in this, it is certain that he has made a nearer approach to it than any other writer on the subject, lay or clerical, European or American. We are sorry we can only make room for a part of his very able argument:

"1. The Pontiff is infallible, not in his *private*, but in his *official* character, when he speaks *ex Cathedra*—from his official, magisterial or teaching Chair—as the Father and Teacher of all Christians, and when thus speaking, he defines, by his supreme Apostolic

authority, a doctrine on faith or morals to be held by the universal Church; and this infallibility derives, not from any personal wisdom or other quality in himself, but from the divine assistance, etc.

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"From this it follows: First, that the Papal Infallibility, in the strict sense of the definition, is confined 'to the domain of doctrine,' and faith and morals; secondly, that the Pontiff must define or finally settle a doctrine, not merely declare more or less strongly a belief; thirdly, that the definition must contain a doctrine to be held by the whole Church; and fourthly, that the definition must be official or *ex Cathedra*, according to the meaning attached to the word as above stated."

In illustrating all this the archbishop shows that it is in strict accordance with the views of the most learned and illustrious fathers of the church, especially those of Aquinas, worthily styled the Angel of the Schools by the most eminent christian historians of succeeding ages, as well as by his contemporaries. But we must pass over all the evidence hastily, interesting as it undoubtedly is, if only as the voice of the good and venerable of past ages, and come to that feature of the case in which Americans, of all denominations, are most interested—we mean the supposed bearing of the new dogma on political liberty. The archbishop is very explicit on this subject;

"Governments, like garments must fit, or suit the people for whom they are formed. Some may need a monarchy; some may prefer a republic. The Church leaves all this to regulate itself, according to the choice of the people, or the circumstances of time and place, confining herself to teaching both sovereigns and peoples, their respective duties, as laid down by the law of Christ. She teaches boldly and fearlessly, though she may sometimes be able only to cry out in the wilderness to those who will not heed her voice."—Pp. 36—7.

Not a word of this can justly be denied. The boldness of the Catholic church in all ages is beyond dispute. Next to their learning and educational efforts what first elicited our esteem and regard for the jesuits was their wonderful heroism as missionaries among the most ferocious and blood-thirsty of the heathen. The American archbishop, well knowing how sensitive his countrymen are on all subjects affecting liberty, is thus unequivocal in addressing them in regard to it:

"No intention whatsoever is entertained, or even so much as thought of, to interfere with existing civil governments. On the contrary, the Church and the Popes will always inculcate on her children, as in times past, the sacred duty of obedience to the existing powers, whether monarchial, liberal, or republican, in all things connected with the well-being of society, and the legitimate objects of civil government."—P. 33.

Nothing could be more explicit than this. And for our part we believe it, although we admit that on most subjects our skepticism prevails over our faith. We find that the space we had prescribed for this review is already more than filled, but we think there are none of our readers, of any denomination, who will not be glad to know the views of the head of the Catholic church in America on a subject so important as



that of Papal Infallibility. Now, however, we shall have to close, but we think that justice requires that we should all remember, at the present crisis of affairs in Italy, that Pius IX. evinced every disposition at the beginning of his reign to be as liberal as the most exacting rational republican could expect. Accordingly, we think we cannot conclude our extracts from a very important and able pamphlet more appropriately than with the following paragraph:

"It is well known that the great reigning pontiff, first of all sovereigns in modern times, inaugurated a system of free government, even to the extent of establishing a deliberative assembly, in which the delegates of the people might fully and freely express their sentiments on matters which concerned their civil well-being. It is also alas! but too well known, how the enlightened benevolence of our great and good Pius IX. was thwarted by the wicked, and repaid with ingratitude and treachery by those very men whom he had amnestied and loaded with favors! His Prime Minister basely assassinated at midday, on the very steps of the chambers; his private secretary, the lamented Palma, shot down at his side by a cowardly assassin; himself imprisoned in his palace by a furious and blood-thirsty mob, and finally forced to fly from his capitol, and become an exile and a wanderer on the earth!"

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*Constitution and By Laws of the Brennan Society.* New York :  
1870.

FINDING this miniature volume on our table among a pile of duodecimos and octavos, we take it up as a curiosity—certainly with no intention of writing as much as one line about it. First, we admire it as quite an elegant specimen of book-making, and are about to lay it aside when our attention is attracted by a monogram on the title-page and cover embracing the initials M. T. B.

That we have nothing to do with politics our readers are aware. It makes not the least difference to us whether a man is a democrat or a republican; but it makes a very great difference whether he be a faithful, efficient public servant or not. If we know he is the latter, we are more or less interested in whatever evinces an appreciation of his public services; accordingly, we turn over the leaves of this tiny book with more cordial pleasure than we should those of many a valuable octavo.

We are no believers in hero worship; we hold that mere success is a frail foundation for any superstructure whatever; but we hold at the same time that there is no stronger or nobler foundation for a society—especially a society of young men—than the character of a public

servant who has done his work so well that even his political opponents cannot avoid bearing testimony to his integrity.

Mr. Matthew T. Brennan is one of the very few public men to whose worth this honorable tribute has been paid. Such being our estimate of Mr. Brennan, after having observed his official conduct in different positions for more than a dozen years, we should reproach ourselves with taking little interest in the public welfare were it not our wish, as it certainly is, that he should occupy one of the most important offices in the gift of this great city.

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*The Rob Roy on the Jordan, Nile, Red Sea, and Genesareth, etc. A Canoe Cruise in Palestine and Egypt and the Waters of Damascus.* By J. MACGREGOR, M.A., with maps and illustrations. 12mo., pp. 464. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1870.

A VERY wide range is thus indicated. The reader is induced to expect much from it. During the perusal of the first nine or ten pages it sometimes seems more or less doubtful whether that expectation is likely to be fully realized; but, from that forward, the prospect brightens; the narrative becomes more and more animated and interesting as we proceed. The first description, however, that attracts our attention is that of the ragged schools at Cairo (p. 42). This is, indeed, a sad picture; but the reader soon forgets it in enjoying the author's lively and graphic sketches of scenes on the Nile.

The transition from the Nile to the Lebanon is rather quick as we have it here, but it is so pleasant, upon the whole, that no one will complain of it; and the same remark, but slightly modified, will apply to the transition from the Lebanon to the Jordan.

In halting at Damascus, the traveller tells us some agreeable things. Describing one of the schools of Damascus he says: "Among the forty young people who had assembled in the school there were Jewesses, Greeks, Moslems, and Christians. I never saw so many pretty faces among a like number of girls. As for their dresses, they were so varied, so graceful, so suitable to womankind that one could not but lament our climate (for of course the fault is not ours), has so grievously contorted our feminine toilet" (p. 137).

Captain Macgregor gives us three or four chapters on the Jordan and its scenery, which it is really refreshing to read at a time when dullness,

self-sufficiency, and high-sounding platitudes form the chief ingredients of our books of travel. At the present day the Scotch are as "loyal" as they are patriotic and fond of manly sports, especially those of the aquatic genus; and, accordingly, the rollicking, lively captain dedicates his book to "his Royal Highness the commander of the Canoe Club." But we do not suppose that it will be read with the less avidity in America on this account, especially by the lovers of fun and "hair-breadth 'scapes by flood and field;" and to such we have no hesitation in recommending "The Rob Roy on the Jordan." The maps and illustrations are quite in keeping with the letter-press, the interest of which they considerably enhance.

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 BELLES-LETTRES.

*The Progress of Life; or, Youth, Maturity, and Old Age.* A Poem in three cantos, by WILLIAM LEECH, M.R.C.S.E. 12mo., pp. 128. London: Longmans, Green & Co.

GLANCING casually over this little volume we find evidence in the first page we read that if the author does not possess genuine poetical inspiration he is at least a man of superior culture, whose mind is richly imbued with that philosophic wisdom which is best if not solely acquired by studying the thinkers of Greece and Rome. We do not hesitate to take up a book that contains good thoughts at every page in preference to one that depends solely on "inspiration," especially as the latter is seldom genuine at the present day.

It is generally agreed among the best critics that there is very little of what is ordinarily called poetry in Pope's *Essay on Man*, but it is as generally agreed among all competent judges that there are few poems that contain more beautiful passages, or possess a more enduring value. The tone and spirit of "*The Progress of Life*" are similar to those of the famous *Essay*; we do not say that the former is as rich in thought or as harmonious in diction as the latter, and yet it possesses more than one of those merits which render the poem of Pope so universal a favorite—such, for example, as that sort of suggestive "reasoning in verse" which at once pleases and instructs the mind while it subdues the heart. We have not room for a sufficient variety of specimens to prove the justice of our estimate, but we think that even one or two brief extracts will show that at least the poem is not without merit. A canto is devoted to Youth, another to Maturity, and another to Old Age. As our space is so limited

in this department we pass over Youth and snatch a small fragment or two from Maturity. The boasted superiority of the moderns over the ancients is thus hit off by Dr. Leech :

" Nor, first, fair Science, thou thy son impeach,  
Who taught before in haste the rest to teach ;  
What Ancient sages said, the Moderns show ;  
Vain of each Art, and not enough to know.  
Familiar this, yet such the latent cause,  
And Nature thus in her expounded laws :  
The trite discourse in florid accents flows,  
And with an unpruned period in the close.  
He quotes some precept proper to the case,  
Nor folly sees in wisdom out of place ;  
Resolved perhaps these social ills to heal,  
And meets rebuff with melancholy zeal."—P. 42.

It must be admitted that there is quite as much poetry as truth in our poet's estimate of man's disposition at maturity ; we transcribe a few lines :

" In friendship fickle, hurried through the breast,  
Who comes the last he still believes the best ;  
Weeps at the tale of woe he soon believes,  
And much indignant when the wretch deceives ;  
Grasps at the good he loves, which oft but seems,  
Likes and dislikes, and all things in extremes."—P. 41.

The place-hunting politician has been regarded in every age as a despicable specimen of mortality, as well as a legitimate subject of satire. Our author's description of him is quite happy ; we quote a line or two :

" Mark how he moves, who knows each vice to shrowd,  
Bows at each step, and cringes to the crowd ;  
To each in other sort some favour shown,  
Pretends thy purpose, and promotes his own ;  
In grim civility the feature dress'd,  
And cloak'd the galling canker in the breast."—P. 54.

In our opinion the canto on Old Age is the best. The decay of life is described with much force and fidelity to nature. Take the following two couplets as an example :

" Now thinner tresses leave the temple bare,  
And deeper in the brow the lines of care ;  
The clouded skin as with a coarser grain,  
The shoulder droops, and stiffer limbs sustain."—P. 82.

The gloom that supervenes, as hope and imagination grow feeble and fade, is happily portrayed. But there are pleasures peculiar to age. Fortunately, what gratifies us in youth has more or less charm for us in old age, though it may be confined wholly to the action of the memory ; but one extract more must suffice :

"To coming days as youth the gaze still cast,  
 Age looks again along the vale it pass'd.  
 There on that lawn, and by that lake he stood,  
 Eyed those far hills, and roam'd to yonder wood.  
 Sweet scenes, where joy, as streams perennial stray,  
 Seems still renew'd, and still to glide away.  
 The task, the school, each pain he felt before,  
 Age kindly views, and 'tis a pain no more;  
 Those blotted pages time has taught to prize,  
 And dear that dog-eared schoolbook to his eyes.  
 His early loves, his friendships, bids recall,  
 And with a mingling sadness sees them all."—Pp. 85-6.

We think it is now superfluous to inform our reader that "The Progress of Life" is an agreeable, thoughtful, suggestive little volume. At the same time we think the author could have produced a much better book in prose. He certainly has some poetry in him; but when only mediocrity is attained as a poet, it is best to shun Parnassus altogether. In early life Plato wrote some good poems, although they are now lost; but they neither pleased himself nor his friends; and is it not fortunate for mankind that he abandoned the Muses and devoted himself to "divine philosophy?"

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APPENDIX—INSURANCE AND ITS CONTRASTS.

*Insurance Reports, Circulars, and other documents more or less truthful, and the reverse, issued during the quarter ending September 15, 1870.*

On the present occasion we will first turn to the bright side of Insurance; for, far from denying that it has such, we have always taken pleasure in pointing out its brightness. Three, five, seven years ago, we showed that, although there was an enormous amount of chaff "in the profession," there was also sufficient good, wholesome wheat for those who needed it. In our very first estimate in this journal of the relative worth and worthlessness of our insurance organizations we maintained that there were not more than twenty companies in the United States that did a legitimate business or were worthy of public confidence. Many pretended to regard this as a very reckless, unjust statement; but since that time insurance companies have multiplied; yet we do not hesitate to repeat to-day what we asserted seven years ago. We maintain that, if at this moment there be twenty sound, honest life companies it is certainly the maximum of that class; nay, we think that a dozen would be much nearer the truth.

Nor have we confined ourselves to mere generalities; we have indicated from time to time which are the good; and we have presented specimens of the other classes. Were we to consult our own interest none would hear from us that there are any bad or indifferent companies; although we should occasionally say that some are vastly better than others, while those claiming to be so distinguished are in general the worst. We could give some curious illustrations of the two latter facts more curious than the most sanguine would expect; nor shall we entirely overlook them as we proceed.

But what we wish to show first to-day is, that with one or two exceptions those companies which we indicated as solid and faithful years ago, are now universally acknowledged to be such by all who have had dealings with them. This is what we call the bright side of the picture; and the more it is examined the brighter it will prove. In exemplifying our views of what is honorable and good, we have no local prejudices or predilections to indulge; it is the work done, and not the place whence it is directed to be done, that we regard in forming our estimate. It is well known that in this respect Boston, Hartford, Newark, etc., are the same to us as New York.

We are quite aware that it is too much the habit at the present day to be influenced by selfishness in the language of approbation as well as censure: we confess to be selfish enough in the present instance to ask our readers to consider whether, in estimating the worth of some companies in these pages from time to time, we have not been guided by reason and justice? But let the bright side of the picture, as we present it, be seen in full before judgment is passed upon it; then if it be not a faithful picture let it be rejected.

Many years ago we admired the New England Mutual for the ability and integrity with which it was conducted; and we can truly say that each succeeding year has increased that admiration. It is certain that Boston has many characteristics which justify its claim to the title of the Modern Athens, but it is equally unquestionable that it has no monetary institution of any kind that possesses the most honorable of those characteristics in so high a degree as its great life company. No other office in Europe or America issues abler disquisitions on insurance, more creditable advice to its agents, or more faithful statements to its policy-holders. There are many other Life companies in Boston and throughout Massachusetts, but it is no peculiar opinion of ours that the New England does more real good, and is destined to do more, than all the rest put together. Accordingly, we have never spoken of it but in the language of respect and esteem. We have never said much in any language of the other Boston companies, because we have always regarded them as belonging to that class which are rather indifferent, than either good or bad. If some of them have lately seemed to improve they owe at least a portion of what-

ever is real in that improvement to the enlightened, philanthropic views and high prestige of the New England Mutual.

We think that if our views of the Hartford companies, as given in former numbers of this journal, be examined, it will be found, on comparing them with the respective operations of those companies from year to year up to the present, that experience and observation fully sustain them. We claim no immunity for our views; we ask or wish no one to pay any attention to them any further than they are founded on reason and truth. Some Hartford companies we have denounced as belonging to the worst class; others we have censured for pursuing a doubtful course; some we have blamed for being reckless without perhaps intending to act dishonorably; others we have advised not to be too pompous, too boastful, or too confident of becoming autocrats. In short, almost the only Hartford life company which we have not had to find fault with in some way is the Phoenix Mutual. No corporations are more sensitive than insurance companies; and precisely in proportion as they deserve criticism does it render them indignant and spiteful. This is no new discovery of ours; but who can say that it has ever deterred us from the expression of our opinions when we thought the unwary might profit by them? At the same time, it is much more agreeable to us to commend than to censure when we can do the former conscientiously. We could ever do so in the case of the Phoenix; although no company in Hartford or anywhere else is less pretentious; no company makes less noise; no company is less disposed to disparage its rivals; and what is, perhaps, more than all, no company is more willing to pay the amount of its policies when they fall due. There are companies that make a larger display of assets, but none that take more care of their assets, or make more judicious use of them. In short, the Phoenix uses no clap-trap. It performs its important, highly profitable, but benevolent and useful duties with the confident, yet modest, calmness of a philosopher engaged in the solution of a problem in which all mankind have an interest.

If we turn from Connecticut to New Jersey we shall find a state of affairs equally encouraging to policy-holders and to those who contemplate becoming such. The Mutual Benefit of Newark is the same now in principle and practice as it was seven years ago. Its wealth has steadily increased from year to year; its payments in every form to its policy-holders have increased in a similar ratio; and if its modesty and politeness have not also increased, they have not diminished. In New Jersey, also, there are several insurance companies; but not one that approaches this in the combined essential requisites of strength, integrity, and intelligence. Accordingly, we have never ranked one of the rest among the class which it is safe to trust with one's money. In short, wherever knowledge, talent, and honesty, with even a moderate amount of pecuniary means, are brought to bear on insurance the results are sure to be ulti-

mately beneficial to all whom they concern. While making this remark we are reminded of a passage in the recent report of the Mutual Benefit, which we extract here as corroborative of our own views:

"When this Company was organized, as before stated, but *two* active rivals were in the field. In 1861, the number had ~~so~~ increased that there were twenty-five Life Insurance Companies reporting to the Insurance Commissioner of New England as the result of twenty years' growth. Now there are *sixty* reporting to the Commissioner, and about *as many more* who do not report at all, making *one hundred and twenty* companies scattered in every section of the country, and *under all kinds of influences*, competing for business, and offering all kinds of inducements to secure it. Aside from the lowering of rates of premium, and raising the commissions to a fabulous amount, some waive all restrictions to occupation, travel, or residence. Some make all policies incontestible from any cause—allowing the party to practice *any vicious habit known to shorten life or to destroy life itself*. These, with the right or license given to commit crime, even if its consequences shorten life, show such a departure from fundamental ideas, inseparable from the business of Life Insurance, that *it is to be expected the coming years will result in a terrible shaking among the companies*.

Our readers may remember that we have copied similar remarks on more than one occasion from the New England Mutual and the Phoenix Mutual, as well as from some of the great New York companies of whose characteristics we shall speak presently. In other words, the most serious charges we have ever made against the rapidly-increasing tribe of insurance charlatans and sharpers are fully sustained, not only by one or two underwriters of acknowledged integrity and worth, but by all who can lay claim to that character.

Those who turn with us to New York will find that there, also, our estimates of the good, bad, and indifferent are fully sustained by time. Any one who ascertains which are our safest metropolitan companies, which are most intelligently managed, which avoid the necessity of *quasi* investigations, or the issue of voluminous "vindications," will also ascertain, by a very slight extension of his researches, that it is this class which is most assailed by the opposite, who regard as their enemies all that are opposed to imposing on public credulity. This is true, for example, of the Knickerbocker. No one has had more anonymous circulars issued against him than Mr. Lyman. He is a constant cause of ire to the class who carry on their operations "under all sorts of influences;" who give "license to commit crime;" who encourage suicide, etc., etc. True, the Knickerbocker is not the less prosperous on this account; although it does not invest the money of its policy-holders in white marble or in anonymous pamphlets. That a company owning a pile of nearly nine million dollars could do such if vanity, envy, jealousy, and greed were its ruling impulses need hardly be said; but if it had only half that amount—nay, if it had not one million—it would be entitled to more confidence, judging from the good it has done in the past, than those



more flashy, fungus-like concerns, which call their hundreds thousands and their thousands millions.

There is no company in New York or elsewhere which we have known longer than the Manhattan; nor is there any company we have known to do more good from year to year. The officers are men of intelligence; none understand the duties and requirements of insurance more thoroughly; and none perform those duties more faithfully, or comply with requirements more cheerfully or more fully. But there is nothing showy about them; they have no love for display—no taste for vilifying even those of their rivals who vilify them as they do others. In a word, they are men who mind their own affairs; accordingly, their affairs are always well managed; and instead of trying to disgrace those they have insured after their death when they are called upon for the money, as some of their neighbors do on each side of them, all they require before giving their check is to get the proper certificate of death and ascertain that the applicant is the person authorized to receive the cash. No "vicious habit known to shorten life or to destroy life itself" receives any countenance from the Manhattan; nor does it pretend to perform any miracles.

No company is more like the Manhattan in its essential attributes than the Security Life. The latter, as well as the former, belongs to that class who regard doing good as embracing its own reward, even when it brings no wealth or even moderate remuneration for the time and labor involved in it. The Security, however, labors under no such privation. On the contrary, there is no company doing a legitimate, honest business whose profits and general resources have increased in a larger ratio. In illustration of this we need only say that whereas, in 1862, its total assets only amounted to \$123,000, at the close of 1869 they had amounted to nearly \$2,500,000. Other facts that might be added show that in this, as in other cases, it is profitable as well as honorable to be faithful and honest.

Another of the older companies of which we have never spoken but with approbation, and which deservedly occupies the first rank, is the Equitable. No company has evinced more energy than this, and its energy has always been healthy; not feverish, fitful, or sensational. It seems never to have doubted that it would succeed; at all events its success is beyond question. In a few brief years it has made a fortune which is more than princely; and if it has disputed a single just claim, we have never heard of the fact. If brilliant success and remarkable prosperity made men arrogant, stiff, and pompous, the principal officers of the Equitable might be supposed to have attained the superlative degree in each of those qualities before now; but it is only those minds that are innately vulgar that permit themselves to become thus intoxicated by prosperity. Accordingly, their policy-holders find both Mr. Alexander and Mr. Hyde

as polite and agreeable to-day, with their millions, in their new granite palace, as they did seven or eight years ago when they had no millions and but few thousands; no palace but some plain rooms.

The National Life of New York is not so rich as other companies; being comparatively young it has not had the time. But, in proportion to its years, few companies have accomplished more. Its principal officers belong to that class who think it is better to make good use of a reasonable amount of money than to make the accumulation of wealth their chief object. They hold that as long as their coffers contain sufficient to meet all claims upon them no one has any right to complain. From this it must not be inferred, however, that their pile is a very small one, except \$850,000 assets be regarded in that light; and it will hardly be said that \$500,000 is a small annuity for so young an institution. If the same fact be taken into consideration it will be admitted that its having issued 1,700 policies within the present year, up to September, is evidence that there is no falling off. Now suppose another company estimates its assets at \$20,000,000 let us suppose that the estimate is even correct—not consisting chiefly of mere figures; if the owner of this \$20,000,000 owes twenty times, perhaps thirty times, as much as the owner of the \$850,000, what is the advantage of the former? Is not the latter really the safer of the two, especially when the more honest? This was forcibly illustrated in some of the recent insurance failures in Europe.

The Continental of New York is the last of our examples of this class on the present occasion, but it has always been one of the first in our esteem. It stands here in our list only in the order of time; so far as intelligence, energy, integrity, and perseverance are concerned it has no superior—no company should take precedence of it. And need we say that such qualities as these have never been combined in a country like ours without being rewarded with success? Accordingly, no company has been more successful—no company is more prosperous at the present moment than the Continental. In illustration of the latter fact we may remark that even in August last, when all who could sought solitude and shade, we are assured on the best authority that it issued 917 policies.

Now, underwriters like the above have always elicited our approbation; it has always afforded us pleasure to observe their steady progress. We are aware how general is the opinion that if an editor bestows praise on a monetary institution it is because he is paid for it, but we defy any one to say that we have ever sold our opinions. Not one of the above companies has ever asked us to do so; nor is there one of them which would not bear us testimony that we have never made it any such proposition. We speak of those underwriters without any prompting—in the same spirit as we do of the exemplary men and benefactors who lived centuries ago. And as we condemn the objectionable practices of

men who lived centuries ago, so do we condemn the objectionable practices of underwriters of the present day.

No sensible person would deny that all like patronage; the physician likes it, the lawyer likes it, the merchant likes it, and may we not add that the underwriter likes it? Then is there any particular reason why an editor should form an exception? We think not; accordingly, we readily admit that we also like patronage. But it must be honorable patronage; if it be accompanied by improper conditions then we do not want it; we spurn it. It is precisely for this reason that we do not possess the patronage of companies which pretend that we criticise them because they do not patronize us. The truth is that they would gladly do so if we only became their tools as others do. Facts which cannot be denied prove this.

We have no wish to give names, but not to do so in cases of this kind is to effect no good; to speak in general terms were as fruitless as to throw dust at the moon. As well might the judge on the bench use such language as "certain parties;" the certain parties would laugh at him.

We will, therefore, give an instance or two, merely for illustration. Thus, the New York Life once occupied *four times* as much of our advertising sheet as any of the companies commended above; we were informed that on account of this great liberality we should declare so generous a benefactor superior to all others; in fact that we should not mention any other companies on the same pages, except to depreciate and condemn them. Because we scorned any such conditions the great patronage of the New York Life was diminished by degrees and finally withdrawn altogether. The Globe Life, an off-shoot of the New York Life, pursues a similar course. The president of the latter, having studied that peculiar style of philosophy in the office of the former, thinks we ought even to allow him to eulogize himself and his company in our pages. Accordingly, he sends us a lucubration which would nearly, if not quite, fill the space we devote to our whole article on insurance. In this precious document not only is the Globe and its president lauded to the skies—the latter being set down as "the original discoverer" of various "new features"—but the clothing store of Devlin and Co. is made a partaker of the glory, because the Globe occupies some of its rooms! Because we would not treat our readers to this sort of dose, because we would not make our pages the vehicle of false representations, we are indignantly called upon to give up the precious article in order that it may appear elsewhere; we are informed at the same time that we are no longer to be honored with the patronage of the Globe Mutual.

If we took one of the company's policies in payment, or even part payment, however, it might be different. We were once persuaded to accept one of those documents in part payment; but we were soon led to conclude that it would hardly pay our printer for setting up the company's

advertisement; and, accordingly, although the policy is pretty nearly as large as a blanket, we will give it to-day to any one for twenty-five cents currency. So much for the New York Life and one of its *deces*. So much for white marble and, "the non forfeiting plan!" But let us note another operation or two.

The Travelers' of Hartford engages a cover page; the now somewhat famous Batterson is ready enough with his check when he expects to be eulogized, but when the eulogy is not forthcoming he violates his contract, withdraws in disgust, and refuses to pay. Up to this time the Review was capital, according to Batterson, but ever since very stupid, sour as any grapes! A similar trick has been played by the Connecticut Mutual, which refuses to pay for its advertisement because, while certain other editors puff it, placing it above all rivals, we decline to make ourselves its tool. Morgan of the North America patronizes us in a similar manner; but having received no eulogy he has never, to this day, paid for his advertisement.

A concern calling itself the American Tontine Life and Savings Insurance Company inserts its advertisement for a year, and when it is called upon to pay offers a sheet similar to that of the Globe. Having quite enough of that sort of goods we decline; but it seems we must accept "insurance" or nothing; pretty nearly equal in this case.

Even the company that boasts of having \$20,000,000 assets deigns to insert an enormous advertisement in some of our earlier numbers, but we failed as in the case of the New York Life to proclaim that there is only one good company in New York, nay, in the whole United States; that all others are but pretenders too mean to be mentioned in the same publication with the great mogul, and, accordingly, away goes the huge advertisement, never, we suppose, to return. So much, then, for editorial selfishness and for the high-minded integrity of insurance companies. While, as already remarked, it will always afford us pleasure to commend real merit in any form, we should rather lose our best patron than be forced to say of any one, or for any one, what we have good reason to believe is false.

The intelligent reader will judge for himself whether this be the correct course or not; or whether legitimate insurance, as well as the public interest, would not be better served by more criticism and less puffery on the part of the press. Few are aware how much the charlatans depend on what is called "the religious press; for it is but too true that no press is more liberal of its eulogies to that class of persons. This any one may easily verify by turning to the files of our leading "religious" journals; nay, it will be sufficient to examine the quotations given in the advertisements and circulars of the insurance quacks.

Unhappily a large proportion of the public are so credulous as to think that what is praised at such length and in such unqualified terms by the

religious press must be good. The editors of the country daily press are so much influenced by the same notion that they furnish long eulogies at a much cheaper rate than they otherwise would; hence it is that insurance quackery flourishes; that new "companies" are springing up in dozens, the last surpassing all the rest in the unspeakable blessings they are to confer on mankind. But the day of reckoning will come; well may the Newark Company say after its long and honorable experience: "It is to be expected the coming year will result in a terrible shaking among the companies." Perhaps the general catastrophe may not occur so soon; the English insurance sharpers held out much longer, and money is plentier in America than in England among the thoughtless class. Yet the present state of things cannot last much longer; more than one hundred insurance companies, now engaged as briskly as possible in obtaining money under false pretences, will inevitably pass out of existence as abruptly and as ignominiously as the similar host of petroleum companies did only a few brief years ago. Then their victims will be able to estimate at their leisure the real value of "cheap insurance," "the non-forfeiture plan," and all other "new features."

There is not so much room for making fortunes at the public expense in fire or marine insurance as there is in life insurance. For various reasons the latter has an immense advantage for underwriters who have no funds of their own; one reason is, that persons who have houses or ships to insure are apt to know more about the value of money, and what the boasted "new features" really mean, than those who have neither houses nor ships. At the same time both the fire and marine departments have their "smart" operators, who pursue exactly the same course in manufacturing "public opinion" as some of the life operators we have mentioned. And it is equally true that some of the former as well as the latter have gained their point; that is, they have made more money than many of their rivals who would scorn to use such means.

In short, we could present just such contrasts in fire and marine insurance, as we have in life insurance. We might begin, as with the life companies, by giving the bright side of the picture, commencing with the Washington, the Hanover, the Hope, the Security, and the *Ætna* of Hartford. Supposing we compared with these as many of the "enterprising" companies—even those of the latter that boast loudest—such for example as the Home, the Continental, the International, and either *Phoenix*—the *Phoenix* of Brooklyn or Hartford? Now, of all the former the Hope has, we believe, the smallest capital; but we have much more confidence in it than in those of the latter who claim to have most capital—more confidence than we have in *any* of the latter. In proof of this we have paid it the cash regularly for several years for its policy; upon the other hand we have never paid a penny for the policy of the Home, nor have we ever recommended its policy to any one although its president gave us ample

opportunity of doing so by sending us his advertisement accompanied with a document similar to that of the Globe president. We treated the self-eulogy of Mr. Martin precisely the same as we treated that of Mr. Freeman, and with the same result; we lost the patronage of the fire man just the same as we did that of the life man; but we should not hesitate for a moment to incur a similar loss to-morrow.

Were we to compare the Washington, the Ætna, the Security, and the Hanover in turn with the other companies mentioned, still greater, if possible, would be the contrast. But we have no further wish in the matter than to give our impressions of the different classes of under-writers; if in doing so we give our own experience it is not through vanity or egotism, but because we hold that one can give better testimony from being an eye-witness than from mere hearsay—the same as one can review a book he has read much more accurately than he could were he to depend on what others tell him about it.

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**ELECTION NOTICE.**

---

STATE OF NEW YORK,  
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,  
ALBANY, August 1, 1870.

*To the Sheriff of the County of New York:*

SIR—

**N**OTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN, THAT AT THE General Election to be held in this State on the Tuesday succeeding the first Monday of November next, the following officers are to be elected, to wit:

A Governor, in the place of John T. Hoffman.

A Lieutenant-Governor, in the place of Allen C. Beach.

A Comptroller, in the place of Asher P. Nichols, appointed by the Governor in the place of William F. Allen, resigned.

A Canal Commissioner, in the place of John D. Fay.

A Canal Commissioner, in the place of George W. Chapman appointed by the Governor in the place of Oliver Bascom, deceased.

An Inspector of State Prisons, in the place of Solomon Schen.

All whose terms of office will expire on the last day of December next.

A Representative in the Forty-second Congress of the United States for the Fourth Congressional District, composed of the First Ward (including Governor's Island), Second, Third, Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, and Eighth Wards of the City and County of New York.

A Representative in the Forty-second Congress of the United States for the Fifth Congressional District, composed of the Seventh, Tenth, Thirteenth, and Fourteenth Wards of the City and County of New York.

A Representative in the Forty-second Congress of the United States for the Sixth Congressional District, composed of the Ninth, Fifteenth, and Sixteenth Wards of the City and County of New York.

A Representative in the Forty-second Congress of the United States for the Seventh Congressional District, composed of the Eleventh and Seventeenth Wards of the City and County of New York.

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A Representative in the Forty-second Congress of the United States for the Eighth Congressional District, composed of the Eighteenth, Twentieth, and Twenty-first Wards of the City and County of New York.

A Representative in the Forty-second Congress of the United States for the Ninth Congressional District, composed of the Twelfth Ward (including Randall's Island and Ward's Island), Nineteenth Ward (including Blackwell's Island), and Twenty-second Ward of the City and County of New York.

#### COUNTY OFFICERS

Also to be elected for said County :

Twenty-one Members of Assembly.

A Sheriff, in the place of James O'Brien.

A County Clerk, in the place of Charles E. Loew.

Three Coroners, in the place of Patrick H. Keenan, Aaron B. Rollins, and Cornelius Flynn.

All whose terms of office will expire on the last day of December next.

The attention of Town and City Election Boards, Inspectors of Election, and County Canvassers is respectfully directed to Chap. 379, Laws of 1870, herewith printed, as to their duties under said act.

#### CHAP. 379.

AN ACT to provide for the payment of the canal and general fund debt, for which the tolls are pledged by the Constitution.

Passed April 25, 1870 ; three-fifths being present.

*The People of the State of New York, represented in Senate and Assembly, do enact as follows :*

SECTION 1. The Commissioners of the Canal Fund are hereby authorized and directed to borrow, on the credit of the State, such sum of money as may be necessary for the purpose of paying and extinguishing the canal and general fund debt, for which the tolls are pledged, as provided by sections one, two, and three of article seven of the Constitution. The Treasurer is authorized and directed to issue and deliver to the said Commissioners, as required by them, registered or coupon bonds of this State, having eighteen years to run, bearing six per cent. interest, payable semi-annually, for such amount as shall be required by said Commissioners for the purpose aforesaid. Upon the receipt of the said bonds, the said Commissioners shall sell the same to the highest bidder, at not less than par, either

by advertising for sealed proposals in the usual manner, or at public auction, upon the notice as the said Commissioners may deem best. The money thus obtained is hereby appropriated to pay and extinguish the canal and general fund debts as they may exist when this act shall become operative.

SEC. 2. A State tax shall be annually levied and collected, sufficient to pay the interest on such moneys as shall be borrowed under this act, and, in addition thereto, to provide for an annual contribution sufficient to create and establish a sinking fund, which shall pay and discharge, within eighteen years, the principal of the debt created under the provisions of this act. But, in case the Legislature shall annually provide and appropriate any moneys from the canal tolls or otherwise to the payment of any portion of the interest on such debt, or such contribution to the sinking fund aforesaid, the tax hereby directed shall be enforced only to the extent which may be necessary and sufficient for the purpose aforesaid.

SEC. 3. When the said canal and general fund debts shall have been paid, or fully provided for in pursuance of section one of this act, the Canal Board shall thereupon and thereafter have full power, from time to time, to fix, regulate, and reduce the rates of tolls upon the canals of this State, in such manner and to such extent as they may deem expedient to promote the trade and commerce of this State, and to prevent the diversion thereof. And it shall be the duty of the said Board to exercise this authority in such way as to secure to the canals of this State the greatest practicable amount of tonnage and transportation; and the Legislature, in accordance with the requirements of section three of the seventh article of the Constitution, declares its concurrence in such adjustment and reduction as the Canal Board may deem advisable in the exercise, from time to time, of the authority hereby vested and conferred.

SEC. 4. This act shall be submitted to the people at the next general election to be held in this State in November next. The inspectors of election in the different election districts in this State shall provide at each poll, on said election day, a box in the usual form for the reception of the ballots herein provided; and each and every elector of this State may present a ballot, on which shall be printed or written, or partly printed and partly written, one of the following forms, namely: "For the act to create a State debt to provide for the payment of the canal and general

fund debts," or "Against the act to create a State debt to provide for the payment of the canal and general fund debts." The said ballots shall be so folded as to conceal the contents of the ballots, and shall be endorsed "Act in relation to the canal and general fund debts."

SEC. 5. After finally closing the polls of such election, the inspectors thereof shall immediately, and without adjournment, proceed to count and canvass the ballots given in relation to the proposed act, in the same manner as they are by law required to canvass the ballots given for Governor, and thereupon shall set down in writing, in words at full length, the number of votes given "For the act to create a State debt," and the whole number of votes given "Against the act to create a State debt," and certify and subscribe to the same and cause the copies thereof to be made, certified, and delivered as prescribed by law in respect of the canvass of votes given at an election for Governor. And all the provisions of law in relation to elections other than for military and town officers shall apply to the submission to the people herein provided for.

SEC. 6. The Secretary of State shall, with all convenient dispatch, after this act shall receive the approval of the Governor, cause the same to be struck off and printed upon slips in such numbers as shall be sufficient to supply the different officers of this State concerned in notifying or in holding elections, or in canvassing the votes, and shall transmit the same to such officers.

SEC. 7. Sections four, five, six, and seven of this act shall take effect immediately; but sections one, two, and three of this act shall take effect when ratified by the people, as hereinbefore provided.

Respectfully yours, &c.,

H. A. NELSON, Secretary of State.

SHERIFF'S OFFICE, NEW COURT HOUSE,  
CITY AND COUNTY OF NEW YORK, *August 5, 1870.*

I certify the foregoing to be a true copy of the original notice of election received by me this day from the Secretary of State.

JAMES O'BRIEN,

Sheriff of the City and County of New York.

Publishers of newspapers will not insert this advertisement unless especially authorized so to do. See Chap. 480, Laws of 1860.

JAMES O'BRIEN, Sheriff.

# SECURITY Insurance Company,

**119 BROADWAY, NEW YORK.**

JANUARY 1st, 1870.

**Capital**.....\$1,000,000 00  
**Total Assets**.....\$2,017,869 81

A. F. HASTINGS, PRESIDENT.

W. B. BUCKHOUT, VICE-PRES'T.

NATHAN HARPER, Secretary.

Fire and Inland Insurance at Lowest Rates.

SAFEST & CHEAPEST SYSTEM OF INSURANCE.

CASH CAPITAL. SCRIP PARTICIPATION.

# Washington Insurance Company,

**172 BROADWAY,**

Corner of Maiden Lane.

NEW YORK.

**CASH CAPITAL**.....\$400,000

**ASSETS, February 1st, 1870**..... 801,397

FIRE, MARINE & INLAND NAVIGATION INSURANCE.

The Policies entitled to participate receive 75 per cent. of the net profits.  
 Average Scrip Dividends for Six years Forty-five per cent. per annum.

HENRY WESTON, Vice-President.  
 WM. A. SCOTT, Assistant Secretary.

GEO. C. SATTERLEE, President.  
 WM. K. LOTHROP, Secretary.

---

OFFICE CHIEF QUARTERMASTER,  
**FIRST QUARTERMASTER'S DISTRICT,**  
*NEW YORK CITY, September 1, 1870.*

---

**SEALED PROPOSALS,**

In duplicate, with a copy of this advertisement attached to each, are invited and will be received at this office until 12 M., October 1, 1870, for the construction of a one story and attic Frame Building at Fort Montgomery, Rouse's Point, New York, in accordance with the plans and specifications to be seen at this office, and at Fort Montgomery, on application to the Ordnance Sergeant.

The material must be furnished by the contractor, and the work completed within sixty days after the acceptance of the bid.

The right is reserved to reject any or all bids, and bidders have the privilege of being present at the opening of the same.

Proposals must be endorsed, "Proposals for Sergeants' Building," and addressed to the undersigned,

**R. N. BATCHELDER,**

Major and Quartermaster U. S. A.,

*Chief Quartermaster.*

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**UNITED STATES ENGINEER OFFICE,**

ROOM 43, ARMY BUILDING,

NEW YORK, September 6, 1870.

---

**SEALED PROPOSALS**

Will be received at this office until THURSDAY, the 6th day of October, 1870, at 12 o'clock M., for REMOVING THE OBSTRUCTIONS in the creek emptying into the Cooper river, about two miles above Charleston, S. C., known as Town creek, or Old Ship-yard creek. These obstructions consist of the wrecks of a dry-dock and a torpedo boat. The removal of such portions of them as lie above the bottom of the stream will be required, so as to secure a depth of nine feet at low water in the channel. The work will be paid for when completed, for which two and a half months will be allowed.

Proposals must be in duplicate, accompanied by a guaranty in duplicate, with a printed copy of the advertisement attached to each proposal.

Blank forms for proposals and guaranties will be furnished by this officer on application.

The right to reject any and all bids is reserved.

**Q. A. GILLMORE,**

*Major of Engineers, Brevet Maj.-Gen. U. S. A.*

# ÆTNA INSURANCE CO.,

INCORPORATED 1819. CHARTER PERPETUAL.

CASH CAPITAL, \$3,000,000.

Losses Paid in 50 Years, - - \$26,000,000

## ASSETS, JANUARY 1, 1870,

(At Market Value)

Cash in hand and in Bank.....	\$682,582 08
Real Estate.....	253,319 14
Mortgage Bonds.....	967,125 00
Bank Stock.....	1,426,445 00
United States, State, and City Stock, and other Public Securities	2,229,033 75
Total.....	\$5,549,504 97

## LIABILITIES.

Claims not due, and unadjusted.....	\$256,068 89
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L. J. HENDEE, President.

WM. H. CLARK, Ass't Sec'y.

J. GOODNOW, Sec'y.

E. J. BARNETT, GENERAL AGENT.

J. C. HULLIARD, }  
H. L. PASCO, } SPECIAL AGENTS.

THE

# Hope Fire Insurance Co.

OFFICE, No. 92 BROADWAY.

Cash Capital - - - - -	\$150,000
Surplus, July 1, 1869 - - - - -	80,083

The advantages offered by this Company are fully equal to any now offered by other reliable companies, comprising a liberal commission to Brokers, placing entire lines of insurance with customary rebate to assured, and prompt settlement of losses.

## Board of Directors.

Henry M. Taber,	T. W. Riley,	S. Cambreleng,
Joseph Foulke,	Cyrus H. Loutrel,	Jacob Reese,
L. B. Ward,	D. Lydig Suydam,	F. Schuchardt,
H. S. Leverich,	Robert Schell,	William H. Terry,
Joseph Grafton,	Amos Robbins,	J. W. Mersereau,
D. L. Eigenbrodt,	William Remsen,	Stephen Hyatt.
JAMES E. MOORE, Secretary.		JACOB REESE, President.

**CORPORATION NOTICE.**—PUBLIC NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN TO the owner or owners, occupant or occupants of all houses and lots, improved or unimproved lands affected thereby, that the following assessments have been completed and are lodged in the office of the Board of Assessors for examination by all persons interested, viz.:

*First.*—For laying stone-block pavement in Thirtieth street, between Eighth and Ninth avenues.

*Second.*—For laying stone-block pavement in Thirty-second street, between Third and Fourth avenues.

*Third.*—For laying Stow foundation pavement in Fifteenth street, between Broadway and Seventh avenue.

*Fourth.*—For laying stone-block pavement in Harrison street, between Hudson and West streets.

*Fifth.*—For laying stone-block pavement in Fourteenth street, between Third avenue and East river.

*Sixth.*—For building sewers in Hudson, Barrow, and Greenwich streets, and in Ninth avenue, between Gansevoort and Thirteenth streets.

The limits embraced by such assessment include all the several houses and lots of ground, vacant lots, pieces and parcels of land situated on:

*First.*—Both sides of Thirtieth street, from Eighth to Ninth avenue, to the extent of half the block on the intersecting streets.

*Second.*—Both sides of Thirty-second street, from Third to Fourth avenue, to the extent of half the block on the intersecting streets.

*Third.*—Both sides of Fifteenth street, between Broadway and Seventh avenue, to the extent of half the block on the intersecting streets.

*Fourth.*—Both sides of Harrison street, from Hudson to West street, to the extent of half the block on the intersecting streets.

*Fifth.*—Both sides of Fourteenth street, from Third avenue to the East river, to the extent of half the block on the intersecting streets.

*Sixth.*—Both sides of Hudson street, from Christopher to West Tenth street; both sides of Barrow street, from Bedford to Bleecker street; the westerly side of Greenwich street, between Horatio and Gansevoort streets; and the westerly side of Ninth avenue, between Gansevoort and West Thirteenth streets.

All persons whose interests are affected by the above-named assessments, and who are opposed to the same, or either of them, are requested to present their objections, in writing, to Richard Tweed, Chairman of the Board of Assessors, at their office, No. 19 Chatham street, within thirty days from the date of this notice.

RICHARD TWEED,  
THOMAS B. ASTEN,  
MYER MYERS,  
FRANCIS A. SANDS,

*Board of Assessors.*

OFFICE BOARD OF ASSESSORS,  
New York, August, 1870.

CONTENTS OF ALL THE NUMBERS  
OF THE  
**NATIONAL QUARTERLY REVIEW**  
OF WHICH COPIES CAN BE FURNISHED.

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- III. Camoens and his Translators.
- IV. England under the Stuarts.
- V. Tendencies of Modern Thought.

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- VII. The Sciences among the Ancients and Moderns.
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- IX. The Succession Rebellion; why it must be put down.
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- VII. Influence of Comparative Philology on Intellectual Development.
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| <p>I. The Chinese Language and Literature.</p> <p>II. Angelology and Demonology—Ancient and Modern.</p> <p>III. Sir Thomas More and his Times.</p> <p>IV. Mand as a representative Poem.</p> <p>V. The comedies of Molière.</p> <p>VI. Education and Unity of Pursuit of the Christian Ministry.</p> | <p>VII. Sir Phillip Sydney.</p> <p>VIII. Aurora Leigh.</p> <p>IX. Yellow Fever a Worse Enemy to Civilization than to Soldiers.</p> <p>X. The National Academy of Design and its Great Men.</p> <p>XI. Notices and Criticisms.</p> |
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**HUGH B. JACKSON,**  
**GROCCER,**

IMPORTER AND DEALER IN

**WINES, TEAS, GROCERIES, FRUITS,**

**Sauces, Condiments,**

**TABLE & HOUSEHOLD ARTICLES**

ETC., ETC., ETC.,

**192 Fifth Ave., Madison Square,**

**NEW YORK.**

---

Families may always rely on getting at our store the best Goods in our line the American market affords, at reasonable prices.

Goods Delivered free in any part of the City.

**ORDERS FROM ALL PARTS OF THE COUNTRY  
PROMPTLY ATTENDED TO.**

Our facilities for importation are such that we can afford to sell the best Wines, Brandies, Teas, Fruits, &c., &c., at the lowest rates they can be procured in the country.

# Continental Life Insurance Company

OF  
NEW YORK,

Office, Nos. 22, 24 and 26 NASSAU STREET.

OFFICERS.

Policies issued in 1869,

8,778.

Assets, Dec. 31, 1869.

\$3,500,000

Total Policies issued,

Over 21,000.



President,

**JUSTUS LAWRENCE.**

Vice President,

**M. B. WYNKOOP.**

Secretary,

**J. F. ROGERS.**

Actuary,

**S. C. CHANDLER, Jr.**

Medical Examiner,

**E. HERRICK, M. D.**

## INTEREST ON CITY STOCKS.

The Interest on the Bonds and Stocks

OF THE

CITY AND COUNTY OF NEW YORK,

**Due November 1, 1870,**

will be paid on that day by **JOHN J. BRADLEY, Esq.**, Chamberlain of the City, at his office, in the new Court-house.

*The transfer books will be closed Saturday, September 24th, 1870.*

**RICHARD B. CONNOLLY,**

Comptroller.

**Department of Finance,**

COMPTROLLER'S OFFICE.

*New York, September 20, 1870.*

**CORPORATION NOTICE—PUBLIC NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN TO** the owner or owners, occupant or occupants, of all houses and lots or improved or unimproved lands affected thereby, that the following assessments have been completed and are lodged in the office of the Board of Assessors for examination by all persons interested, viz. :

*First.*—For laying Stow foundation pavement in Maiden lane, from Broadway to the East river.

*Second.*—For laying trap-block pavement in Sixtieth street, from Lexington to Fifth avenue.

*Third.*—For laying trap-block pavement in Desbrosses street, from Hudson to Washington street.

*Fourth.*—For laying trap-block pavement in Thirty-ninth street, between Eighth and Ninth avenues.

*Fifth.*—For laying crosswalks at intersection of Eighth avenue and One Hundred and Twenty-fifth street.

*Sixth.*—For building sewer in Seventh street, from First avenue to Avenue B.

The limits embraced by such assessments include all the several houses and lots of ground, vacant lots, pieces or parcels of land, situated on—

*First.*—Both sides of Maiden lane, from Broadway to the East river, to the extent of half the block on the intersecting streets.

*Second.*—Both sides of Sixtieth street, from Lexington to Fifth avenue, to the extent of half the block on the intersecting streets.

*Third.*—Both sides of Desbrosses street, from Hudson to Washington street, to the extent of half the block on the intersecting streets.

*Fourth.*—Both sides of Thirty-ninth street, from Eighth to Ninth avenue, to the extent of half the block on the intersecting streets.

*Fifth.*—Both sides of One Hundred and Twenty-fifth street, from Seventh to Ninth avenue, and both sides of Eighth avenue, from One Hundred and Twenty-fourth to One Hundred and Twenty-sixth street.

*Sixth.*—Both sides of Seventh street, from Fourth avenue to a point fifty feet east of Avenue B; both sides of Sixth street, from Second to Third avenue; both sides of Fifth street, from Second avenue to the Bowery; both sides of Bowery and Fourth avenue, from Fifth street to Astor place; westerly side of Avenue B, from Sixth to Seventh street; both sides of Avenue A and First and Second avenues, from Sixth to Eighth street, and both sides of Second avenue, from Fifth to Sixth street.

All persons whose interests are affected by the above-named assessments, and who are opposed to the same, or either of them, are requested to present their objections, in writing, to Richard Tweed, Chairman of the Board of Assessors, at their office, No. 19 Chatham street, within thirty days from the date of this notice.

RICHARD TWEED,  
THOMAS B. ASTEN,  
MYER MYERS,  
FRANCIS A. SANDS,

*Board of Assessors.*

OFFICE BOARD OF ASSESSORS,  
NEW YORK, August 10, 1870.

THE

## NATIONAL QUARTERLY REVIEW.

A LITERARY AND CRITICAL JOURNAL OF THE FIRST CLASS, EACH NUMBER CONTAINING  
OVER 200 PAGES. PUBLISHED IN MARCH, JUNE, SEPTEMBER, AND DECEMBER.

Established 1860.

EDWARD I. SEARS, LL.D., Editor, Proprietor, and Founder.

The liberal patronage extended to us, even during the gloomiest period of the late rebellion, and which has been steadily increasing since the restoration of peace, affords us the most gratifying proof that, in subjecting to fearless and searching criticism whatever has a tendency to vitiate the public taste, and exposing charlatanism of all kinds, we enjoy the approbation of the educated and enlightened in all parts of the country.

Nor have we to rely on mere inference. Were we to avail ourselves of private letters emphatically commending our course, we could fill an octavo volume with the briefest extracts from those of distinguished men and women, including authors, artists, lawyers, eminent church dignitaries of different denominations, chancellors and professors of colleges, principals of academies, seminaries, and schools. We assure all who have thus encouraged us that we will exert ourselves more and more in the future to merit their confidence and esteem.

While it affords none more pleasure to do justice to the merits of good books, we shall continue to criticise those of the opposite character. A notice in a paper, which must necessarily be brief, may be more appreciative than the character of the work noticed deserves, and yet not imply any dishonesty or bad faith on the part of the editor; but if a quarterly does not make some attempt to separate the wheat from the chaff, but praises every book it notices, it is simply a *puffing* machine and not a *Review*. We do not make this remark with a view of depreciating any other journal, or finding fault with the manner in which it is conducted, but simply to show that, if our criticisms sometimes seem harsh, it is not because we are actuated by personal feeling against any one. In proof of this our readers will bear us testimony that under no circumstances have we ever made any attack on private character; that if we have denounced men of all grades, parties, and sects, we have, in every instance, confined ourselves to their public acts; nor shall we do anything different in the future.

All subjects of public interest will continue to be fully and fearlessly discussed in the Review, but without impugning anybody's religious creed. As long as we have control of it, we shall oppose bigotry and intolerance, whether Protestant or Catholic. Talent and culture will always be welcome to our pages, and, as much as possible, encouraged.

Education in every form, including art and science, will receive prominent and friendly attention; and whatever seems calculated to retard or vitiate it, whether under the name of a text-book, a painting, a seminary, a gallery, or a college, will be subjected to fearless, but fair and temperate, criticism.

While aiming at being cosmopolitan—doing justice as far as possible to what every nationality has contributed to civilization and human progress—the NATIONAL QUARTERLY is decidedly American in feeling and sympathies, and unalterably attached to our free institutions. But far from being the organ of any party or sect—while disclaiming to be either partisan or sectarian—we shall continue to treat the individuals of all parties and sects according as their public conduct may seem to us to merit. In short, no pains or expense will be spared to render the work worthy of the character assigned to it by the leading organs of public opinion at home and abroad—namely, “*the best of American Reviews.*”

NAVY DEPARTMENT, BUREAU OF YARDS AND DOCKS,  
WASHINGTON, D. C., September 1, 1870.

**PROPOSALS.**—Sealed Proposals to furnish materials for the several navy yards for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1871, will be received at this Bureau until 10 o'clock A. M. of the 20th of September next, at which time the proposals will be opened.

Printed schedules, in which the materials and articles required are embraced, with form of offer and guarantee, will be furnished on application, and sent by mail, if so requested, to persons desiring to offer to contract for any or all of the classes named therein, by the commandants of the several navy-yards, for the classes for the yards under their command, or by the paymaster nearest thereto, or by the Bureau for any or all of the yards.

To prevent confusion and mistakes in sealing the offers, no bid will be received which contains classes for more than one yard in one envelope; nor any bid which is not perfect and complete in itself, according to the forms of offer and guaranty, and each individual of a firm must sign the bid and contract.

Bidders are referred to the printed instructions, which will be furnished with the schedules, and they are hereby cautioned, and particularly notified, that their offers should be made on the printed form prescribed by the Bureau, and be mailed in time to reach their destination before the time expires for receiving them.

No bid will be considered which shall be received after the period stated, and no allowance will be made for failures of the mail.

The proposal must be accompanied by a certificate from the Collector of Internal Revenue for the district in which the bidder resides, that he has a license to deal in the articles for which he proposes; and, by direction of the Department, bids or offers will be received only from parties who are bona-fide dealers in, or manufacturers of the articles they offer to furnish. The guarantors must be certified by the Assessor of Internal Revenue for the district in which they reside.

The contract will be awarded to the person who makes the lowest bid and gives the guarantee required by law, the Navy Department, however, reserving the right to reject the lowest bid, or any which it may deem exorbitant.

Sureties in the full amount will be required to sign the contract, and their responsibility must be certified to the satisfaction of the Navy Department, and the bidder must state distinctly at what Paymaster's office he desires all his bills to be paid.

To guard against offers being opened before the time appointed, bidders are requested to use the printed envelopes furnished by the Bureau, indorsed thus: "*Proposals for classes Nos. (name the classes) for the Navy Yard at (name the yard).*" To the Chief of the Bureau of Yards and Docks, Navy Department, Washington, D. C."

The schedules will state the times within which articles will be required to be delivered. If any articles are named in the schedules which are not known to be in common and general use,



the bidders will ascertain promptly whether such articles can be procured or not, and if they cannot be obtained, the fact must be reported to the Bureau at once, before bids shall be received.

All offers not made in *strict conformity* with the instructions accompanying the schedules will, at the option of the Bureau, be rejected.

As additional security, twenty per centum will be withheld from the amount of the bills until the contracts shall have been completed, and eighty per centum of the amount of each bill, approved in triplicate by the commandants of the respective yards, will be paid by the paymaster of the station designated in the contract within ten days after the warrant for the same shall have been passed by the Secretary of the Treasury.

The classes of this Bureau are numbered and designated as follows:

Class No. 1, Bricks; No. 2, Stone; No. 3, Yellow Pine Timber; No. 4, Yellow Pine Lumber; No. 5, Oak and Hard Wood; No. 6, White Pine, Spruce, Juniper, and Cypress; No. 7, Lime, Hair, and Plaster; No. 8, Cement; No. 8½, Drain Pipe; No. 9, Gravel and Sand; No. 9½, Molding and Firesand and Fireclay; No. 10, Slate; No. 11, Iron, Iron Spikes, and Nails; No. 12, Steel; No. 13, Pig Iron; No. 14, Files; No. 15, Paints, Oils, and Glass; No. 16, Ship Chandlery; No. 17, Hardware; No. 18, Stationery; No. 20, Hay and Straw; No. 21, Provender; No. 22, Charcoal; No. 23, Belting, Packing, and Hose; No. 24, Sperm and Lubricating Oil; No. 25, Iron Work, Piping, etc.; No. 26, Augurs; No. 31, Copper and Composition Nails; No. 22, Machinery and Tools.

#### NAVAL ASYLUM.

Class No. 1, Clothing; No. 2, Hats, Boots, Shoes, etc.; No. 3, Provisions; No. 4, Groceries; No. 5, Dry Goods; No. 6, Bread, etc.; No. 7, Tobacco; No. 8, Coal; No. 9, Paints, Oils, Glass, etc.; No. 11, Lambert; No. 42, Firewood; No. 13, Provender; No. 14, Miscellaneous; No. 15, Hardware; No. 16, Stationery.

The following are the classes, by their numbers, required at the respective Navy-yards and Naval Asylum:

KITTERY, MAINE.—Nos. 6, 15, 17, 18, 20, 21, 22, 32.

CHARLESTOWN, MASS.—Nos. 1, 2, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 31, 32.

BROOKLYN, N. Y.—Nos. 1, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 9½, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25, 2, 31, 22.

PHILADELPHIA, PA.—Nos. 18, 20, 21.

NAVAL ASYLUM, PHILA.—Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16.

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Nos. 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8½, 11, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25.

NORFOLK, VA.—Nos. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 11, 14, 16, 17, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25, 32.

PENSACOLA, FLA.—Nos. 15, 16, 17, 18, 21, 24.

DANIEL AMMEN, *Chief of Bureau.*

## UNITED STATES ENGINEER OFFICE,

Corner Houston and Greene Sts., New York.

Sealed proposals will be received by the undersigned until noon of October 17, 1870, for the extension of the breakwater at Plattsburg, N. Y., in a northeasterly direction for a distance of 94 feet more or less.

The extension will be in one crib, 25 feet wide, and of such height as to bring the top of the crib about 2 feet above the level of average low water of the lake, which has along the line of the proposed extension an average depth, referred to the same level, of nineteen (19) feet.

After the crib shall have been sunk and filled with stone, which must be done by March 31, 1871, it will be left to settle until the following fall, when the superstructure will be completed and filled with stone to a height of 9 feet above the level of average low water.

The crib will be constructed with a grillage bottom, and in other respects similar to those now in process of construction for the breakwater at Burlington, Vt.

The proposals will state separately the price asked for each foot in length of crib completed, sunk in position, and filled with stone, and for each foot in length of the superstructure to be afterwards completed and filled with stone.

The contractor will be expected, in case of undue settlement, to maintain the top of the crib a little above the level of average low water until the period for putting on the superstructure shall have arrived.

The crib must be sunk in the position prescribed by the engineer in charge, and no work will be paid for unless executed in conformity with the specifications and plans of the work.

Payment will be made after the crib has been sunk and filled with stone, reserving ten per cent. until the superstructure shall have been completed and filled with stone, when the whole amount then due will be paid to the contractor.

Written specifications may be obtained by addressing Mr. D. White, Superintendent at Burlington, Vt., where drawings of the crib may likewise be seen.

Forms of proposals and guarantees to enter into contract, if the bid is accepted, can be obtained by addressing the same person, and no proposals out of form or without the requisite guaranty will be considered.

A printed copy of this advertisement must be attached to each proposal.

Proposals must be endorsed upon the outside of the envelope as follows:—Proposals for the extension of the breakwater at Plattsburgh, N. Y.

JOHN NEWTON,

Lieutenant-Colonel Engineers and Brevet Major-General.

## EXTRACTS FROM LEADING JOURNALS,

FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC.

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" 'Our Millionaires and their Influence,' is a powerful and well-merited castigation of the mere money-makers, the railroad rogues, the gold-market speculators, who override society in the New World as well as in the Old."—*Phila. Press.*

"It is creditable to our transatlantic friends to sustain a journal which, like the *National Quarterly Review*, possesses the courage to unmask false pretensions, and both the ability and disposition to improve the public taste."—*Edinburgh Scotsman.*

"Il (the editor) a mérité l'estime de nos savans par d'important travaux comme critique sur la haute éducation, aussi bien que la littérature."—*Indépendance Belge, Brussels.*

"\* \* \* *Vassar College and its Degrees* is a merciless unmasking of an educational sham, deserving the gratitude of all friends of true education.\* \* \*"—*Christian Standard, Cincinnati, O.*

"\* \* \* No one can take up the two American quarterlies without feeling that, while the one is the organ of a clique, and bound down and restrained by the narrowest Puritan sentiment, the other is broad, generous, and catholic in tone, and world-wide in its sympathy. The *North American* and its little sister, the *Atlantic Monthly*, think of the world from what Lord Bacon would have called the Cave, and treat the world as if Boston were really the hub of the universe. The *National Quarterly* takes a bolder standpoint, and, from its greater elevation, makes juster observations and arrives at more correct conclusions.\* \* \*"—*New York Herald.*

"It is at once the most learned, most brilliant, and most attractive of all their (the American) periodicals."—*London Spectator.*

"La clarté, l'ordre, la précision du style; ce que les Anglais appellent *humour*, et parfois l'ironie, sont les qualités que distinguent le *National Quarterly Review*, au-dessus de tout autre journal littéraire Américain."—*Le Pays, Paris.*

"It certainly exhibits high culture and marked ability."—*London Saturday Review.*

"We have been much interested in witnessing the steady advance of this periodical. It combines great learning with vigor of style and fearless utterance."—*Boston Journal.*

"More than a year ago we ranked it with the best of our own Quarterlies, and it certainly has not lagged since in ability or vigor."—*London Daily News.*


"Every one of these articles is brilliantly written. The editor, Dr. Sears, is an Irish Protestant. His *Review* proves intellect as fine as can be found, and candor as unrestricted, by prejudiced limits, as the Catholic Church itself can require. Certainly the Catholics, particularly the Irish Catholics, of this country should well support a publication which is thus distinguished."—*Philadelphia Catholic Universe.*

"Some particularly fearless and original opinions heretofore expressed in the *National* have established an almost personal feeling of respect and esteem between its readers and itself. Of this kidney are the views expressed by the author of the paper in the present (December) number on 'Our Millionaires and their Influence.' The writer puts into words what many of us have been feeling for a long time, that the sluicing of money into the channels guided by a few capitalists is going to have the gravest effect upon national honor and progress."—*Philadelphia Bulletin.*

"Pour bien apprécier cet écrivain il faut le comparer à ces dévanciers dans la littérature critique Américaine, et l'on verra quel pas immense qu'il fit faire."—*La Presse, Paris.*

"This journal supports creditably the critical ability of New York, and often contains papers that would make a sensation if they appeared in some medium of longer traditional reputation."—*New York Daily Times.*

"Broad, liberal, and learned in its tone and contents, it also fulfills the functions of a high order of journalism by piquant criticism and reviews of current events."—*Cincinnati Chronicle.*

 Two Dollars (\$2.00) will be paid by the Editor for each copy of the first or second number of the National Quarterly Review.

### **To Contributors.**


All articles should be received at least a month before the day of publication. Contributions from all parts are equally welcome; they will be accepted or rejected solely according to their merits or demerits, their suitableness or unsuitableness.

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### **FOREIGN POSTAGE.**

 The postage on each number of the NATIONAL QUARTERLY REVIEW to the principal countries of Europe, is as follows: to England, Ireland, or Scotland, 30 cents; to France, 20 cents; to any of the German States, 30 cents; to Belgium or Holland, 40 cents; to Italy or Switzerland, 50 cents.

N. B.—The subscription to any of these countries is in proportion to the postage—the amount *without postage* being \$5 a year, payable in advance.

